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China Report

RED FLAG

No. 17, 1 September 1981



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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHEN LITERATURE AND ART CRITICISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 2-4

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] To carry out literature and art criticism is one of the principal methods in distinguishing right from wrong, strengthening unity, and improving literature and art work in the literary and artistic circles. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, literature and art criticism has been carried out in accordance with the guiding principle of emancipating our minds, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one to look forward, and we have done a great deal of work beneficial to correcting the leftist mistakes and promoting the development of literature and art. We have scored marked success in this respect. However, our literature and art criticisms have not done their best to praise or criticize literary and artistic works. With regard to giving praise, they have not done enough to actively and warmly encourage and support good works of the new period which encourage people to unite and make progress. In the meantime, when some critics praised certain works, they failed to make specific analysis and seek truth from facts; some praises were based on "personal relations" and some vulgar ways of logrolling did exist. Some critics improperly praised or affirmed works which were unhealthy and characterized by erroneous tendencies. It was obvious that this kind of praise was not in accord with the scientific attitude of Marxist literary and artistic criticism and did not play the necessary role of literary and artistic criticism. Our criticism of some literary and artistic works, articles and speeches with erroneous tendencies was weak and inefficient. Some people adopted a conciliatory and compromising attitude toward cardinal questions of right and wrong. Some people deliberately shielded some works out of selfish motives although they knew very well that these works were erroneous. Some people sympathized with or even supported works with tendencies that ran counter to the four basic principles. Due to the fact that some works which broke away from the socialist path and reflected social ideological trends of the bourgeois liberalization were not properly criticized, they spread unchecked and poisoned the younger generation. The above-cited problems arising in literature and art criticism have truly shown that unhealthy work style does exist in the literary and artistic circles. Influenced by this unhealthy work style, some people failed to distinguish right from wrong, and unhealthy trends were encouraged. Some literary and artistic workers were fond of praise, but turned a deaf ear to criticism. They were willing to listen to praise alone, but disliked criticism. Once they were criticized, they complained

that some people were again wielding the big stick. Once they were criticized, they protested that someone was wantonly interfering in their work. These instances should be corrected by means of criticism and self-criticism.

In order to strengthen literature and art criticism, it is necessary first of all, to unify our thinking in three aspects so far as the situation in the literature and art circles is concerned.

1. We must uphold the four basic principles and regard Mao Zedong Thought in literature and art as the guiding principle. "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" embodies Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art. The resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session explicitly appraised the historical role of Mao Zedong Thought. It pointed out that "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" is still of "important significance to date." Of course, we should not adopt a dogmatic attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art and regard "every sentence by Comrade Mao Zedong as the truth." Instead, we should use the stand, viewpoints and methods of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art to solve new problems arising in literature and art practice. There is no doubt that Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art will constantly advance and develop and our main task is to unceasingly promote in practice the development of Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art. However, we should not unduly stress developing it alone, but neglect the efforts to uphold and inherit it. Otherwise, we will actually abandon it in a disguised form.

To uphold Mao Zedong Thought on literature and art, critics should stick to the two criteria established by Comrade Mao Zedong for literature and art criticism. Literature and art should not be separated from politics. It is wrong to negate the political criterion for literature and art criticism. At present, the political criterion for literature and art criticism means upholding the four basic principles. All literary and artistic works which benefit the practice of upholding the four basic principles and encourage people to work with one heart and one mind for the four modernizations should be considered as good works. All literary and artistic works which violate the four basic principles, obstruct the unity of people and turn the clock back should be regarded as bad ones. Now some people oppose the criterion of literature and art criticism based on the four basic principles under the pretext of emancipating the mind. In so doing, literature and art are liable to slide onto a track of breaking away from the party leadership and socialism so that literature and art criticism will become weak and inefficient in front of bourgeois liberal trends.

With regard to the major problem of upholding the four basic principles, we, the literary and art critics, should never waver.

2. To strengthen literature and art criticism, we should proceed from reality to combat both leftist and rightist tendencies and oppose all kinds of mistakes whenever they occur. At present, the liberal tendencies occurring in the literary and artistic circles reflect bourgeois liberalization trends in society. The core of bourgeois liberalization is to break away from the socialist path, do away with, resist or even openly oppose the party leadership. Some people worry about the possibility that once we oppose liberalization, our efforts to combat the leftist mistakes will be hampered. It is unnecessary for them to do so. Our efforts to

oppose both the leftist mistakes and liberal tendencies are aimed at ensuring the implementation of the line and policies worked out by the third plenary session and the promotion of the four modernizations. Any interference, regardless of the source, which runs counter to this general orientation should be resolutely opposed. It is wrong to set our efforts to oppose leftist mistakes against the practice of combating liberalization. We should admit that the bourgeois liberal trends of thought do exist in our country, which are seriously harming and corroding our young people. We should also admit that unhealthy tendencies which reflect and go along with this erroneous social trend of thought do exist in our literary and artistic circles, which accelerate the corrosion of our youths. If we turn a blind eye to such tendencies and let them spread unchecked, our society will be severely hampered. In the meantime, those who stick to leftist mistakes will cook up a pretext to carry out wanton interference. We should be bold and have a clear-cut stand to fight against liberal tendencies, change the weak and ineffective leadership and encourage healthy trends in socialist literature and art criticism.

3. To strengthen literature and art criticism, we should seek truth from facts and pay attention to methods. Our literature and art criticism should include both praise and criticism. Criticism and self-criticism is the sole correct method for overcoming shortcomings and mistakes within the ranks of the people, and we should on no account give up the weapon of criticism. It is wrong to resist and refuse criticism or regard regular criticism as wielding the big stick. Literary and artistic creations are a complicated form of spiritual production, and ideological and artistic shortcomings or mistakes inevitably occur within them. Those who make mistakes or shortcomings should be glad to accept criticism and should regard criticism as an expression of concern and as help. They should not conceal their faults for fear of criticism or reject other people's criticism. If they find out that the criticism does not accord with facts, is imbued with lopsidedness or disagree with those who criticize, they are allowed to carry out counter-criticism and argue. However, they should not use this as a pretext to reject other people's criticism or turn a deaf ear to correct criticism. We should not expect that literary and artistic works will be perfect. This is also the case with literature and art criticism. Of course, we should draw a lesson from history. While criticizing shortcomings and mistakes, we should adopt a practical and appropriate attitude. When carrying out criticism, we should have a sense of propriety and deal with different cases in different ways. We should deal with mistakes in a practical way, neither exaggerate nor underrate them. We should avoid doing things in an oversimplified and crude way or randomly elevate minor mistakes or shortcomings to the level of principles. It is a matter of principle that when carrying out literature and art criticism, we should pay attention to methods. However, distinguishing right from wrong is also a matter of principle. Without distinguishing right from wrong, it is impossible to adopt correct methods. We should not use one principle to negate the other. Instead, we should unify them. In dealing with mistakes, whether we should carry out criticism is not a matter that we should first think about. Methods of criticism are of secondary importance. At present, most problems existing in the literary and artistic circles are contradictions within the ranks of the people and should be dealt with according to the formula of "unity-criticism-unity." When dealing with comrades who have made mistakes, we should stick to the principle of "curing the sickness to save the patient." Comrade Mao

Zedong said: "It will not do to save a patient without curing his sickness and it is inappropriate to cure a patient's sickness if our purpose is not to save him. Neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other and extreme views should be avoided." To do so, we should know perfectly well the "patient's condition," and conscientiously and carefully study each person or each case we are dealing with. The more we know, the more scientific will be our overall criticism. Of course, even if those who criticize have the situation well in hand and have mastered the truth, in carrying out criticism, they should pay attention to the fact that ideological problems can be solved only through persuasion, not by coercion. We should discuss problems in a comradely and friendly way and on an equal footing and permit those who hold different views to argue. Those comrades who committed mistakes need a cognition process to realize their wrong doings and we should allow them to do so. To enhance the quality and efficiency of literature and art criticism, it is important to regularize a common and healthy practice of literature and art criticism. We should encourage literary and art critics to make friends with writers, deepen their mutual understanding and help each other. We should carry out comradely debate so that the practice of criticism and self-criticism will become the normal political life of literary and artistic workers, in particular among party members.

The key to carrying out well literature and art criticism lies in strengthening the party leadership and correcting its weak and lax leadership over the literary and artistic circles. The party's "double hundred" guiding principle and literary and artistic policy have created favorable conditions for carrying out literature and art criticism in a healthy way. Some people think the practice of criticism and self-criticism conflicts with the implementation of the "double hundred" policy. They wrongly think that once criticism and self-criticism is carried out the implementation of the "double hundred" policy will be hampered. This idea is absolutely wrong. We should understand that our purpose in carrying out criticism and self-criticism is to enliven our ideology and improve our democratic life. We should let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend. Does this not reflect a vivid political situation characterized by enlivening of thought and democracy? It is obvious that sticking to the "double hundred" policy cannot be separated from the practice of criticism and self-criticism. We should understand that the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend is not carried out under the conditions in which there are no comparison, competition and conflict. The policy itself means competition, learning from others' strong points to offset one's weaknesses and winning victory through better quality. Criticism and self-criticism are an aspect of the policy. We should know that the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend aimed at promoting the development of science, literature and art is a proletarian policy of our party. Through comparison and competition, Marxism will occupy a dominant position in the ideological field. This is the fundamental aim of this policy. The ideological weapon of criticism and self-criticism is indispensable in order to attain such an aim. As long as we make a clean break in guiding thought with the wrongdoings conducted during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and avoid making the same leftist mistakes and taking the old road, the practice of criticism and self-criticism will be beneficial to the implementation of the "double hundred" policy. This has been proved by the practice of bring order out of chaos in the literary and artistic circles since the third plenary session.

We are now studying the resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session. We should understand that it was precisely through serious and conscientious criticism and self-criticism that the resolution of the sixth plenary session succeeded in solving such a great number of complicated problems occurring in the history of our party and became the political and ideological foundation on which the entire party and people of various nationalities throughout the country work with one heart and one mind, unite as one, march in step and carry out the four modernizations wholeheartedly. Guided by the spirit of the resolution, we, the literary and art critics, should utilize the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and correctly guide the huge literary and artistic contingent so that they will unite on the basis of the resolution and make literature and art serve the socialist modernization more effectively.

CSO: 4004/130

I SUGGEST WRITING SHORTER ARTICLES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Letter from Fan Tianxiang [2868 1131 7449]]

[Text] Editor's note: Comrade Fan Tianxiang's letter appeals for the writing of short articles. His appeal reflects the opinion and wish of the reading public and is a useful criticism and aid to us in carrying out our work. Writing shorter and more concise articles is a good way to improve the quality of our manuscripts, saves the reader's time, and enhances propaganda efficiency. The editors of this periodical do intend to publish as many short articles as possible. Prior to the publication of the No 5 issue of our periodical this year, the articles averaged about 5,000 words. Since then, the articles have become longer and longer. At this time, we pledge our determination to make great efforts for improvements. We hope that, with the cooperation of writers and with the supervision of readers, notable results will be achieved.

RED FLAG Editorial Department:

I enjoy reading RED FLAG. This year your periodical has closely followed the central work of the party Central Committee and has published many high-quality theoretical works, obtaining very good propaganda effects. However, I feel that, in general, the articles are too long. Each article runs almost 3 or 4 pages and some run as long as 5 or 6 pages, exceeding 100,000 words. It takes some time to read through these articles. Fighting at the forefront of the construction of the four modernizations, the great number of cadres and masses are very busy and have little time to read long articles. Besides, many articles stress theoretical aspects and are weak at linking theory with practice, and they are often void of substance and insipid in style. Theories expounded with actual practice are more convincing. Although it is to be expected that this theoretical periodical should publish articles of some length which discuss the party Central Committee's policies, it is not length which makes an article good. Long articles with little substance produce little effect. The great writer Lu Xun wrote short articles. He also wrote on theoretical topics, and his articles had good effects. They were just like a sharp sword. Of course, short articles without substance are just as bad as long ones without substance. Take two articles as an example.

If both are equal in quality and one is long and the other short, then the shorter one is better because it is easier to read and saves time. I suggest that articles published by RFD FLAG be limited to around 3,000 words and certainly should not exceed 5,000 words. This will enable the periodical to publish many more articles in its limited space and enable the readers to get more out of it.

Fan Tianxiang of a certain PLA unit

CSO: 4004/130

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WORK IS THE LIFEBLOOD OF ECONOMIC AND ALL OTHER WORK

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 5-9, 14

[Article by Hong Yunshan [3163 7301 3790] and Du Gan [6757 3227]]

[Text] The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," which was adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, states that ideological and political work is the lifeblood of economic and all other work. This is an important idea of long-term significance put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong, and also a scientific truth which has been testified to by the practice of China's revolution and construction. Our party has consistently taken ideological and political work as the central link in uniting the whole party to wage great political struggles, especially in periods of major historical change. Currently, studying the resolution and strengthening ideological and political work is of great importance to adhering to the spirit of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, unifying the whole party's, the whole army's and the whole nation's understanding on the basis of the resolution, adhering to the four basic principles, uniting the people of all nationalities in our country, enhancing revolutionary vigor, and carrying out the four modernizations steadily.

Lenin said: "A country's strength depends on the consciousness of the masses. A country can be strong only when the masses know everything and can assess and consciously undertake everything." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 26, p 234) Stalin said: "In any working department of the state or party, the higher the working personnel's political standard and degree of Marxist-Leninist consciousness, the higher will be the efficiency of and achievement in their work. On the contrary, the lower their political standard and degree of Marxist-Leninist consciousness, the greater will be the possibility that they will experience setbacks and failures in work, become philistine, degenerate into shortsighted people who are bogged down in routine matters, and become degenerate elements in general. This can be said to be a general rule." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol 2, pp 461-462) Lenin and Stalin scientifically expounded upon the place and role of ideological and political work in various types of work, and expounded upon the idea that the basic element of ideological and political work is to raise the consciousness of the masses. This amounts to the key substance of our party's ideological and political work. In leading our country's people to wage revolution and carry out construction, our party has always taken ideological and political work as the guide to fulfilling political tasks. That is, through

strengthening ideological and political work, our party encourages people to study basic Marxist theories and its line, principles and policies, raises all party members' and cadres' standard of political theory, and enhances the ideological consciousness of the broad masses of people, so that the party's correct propositions can be turned into the conscious actions of the masses of people and the achievement of success in revolution and construction can be ensured.

Since the basic accomplishment of our country's socialist transformation, class contradictions have ceased to constitute the principal contradictions in society. Economic, political, cultural and other contradictions exist in society. The majority of contradictions are those among the people which are based on their basic interests being identical. Therefore, in ideological and political work, we should proceed from satisfactorily handling various contradictions among the people and also from satisfactorily coordinating and handling various social relations. Such relations include those between man and man, between different units, or between the leaders and the masses, as well as relations of the state's, the collective's and the individual's interests, and so on. Moreover, because class struggle still exists within certain limits, and the influence of the ideologies of various exploiting and nonproletarian classes still exists, capitalism, feudalism and bad habits of small-scale production will continue to influence the working personnel in our party and state as well as the masses of people. To prevent the communists and working personnel of the state from being influenced by erroneous ideologies so that economic and other work deviates from the correct orientation, it is absolutely necessary to strengthen ideological and political work, and to resist the attack of antagonistic ideologies and subdue all nonproletarian ideologies through regular education and use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. However, in the past, under the guidance of leftist ideology, class contradictions were still emphasized as the principal contradiction in society and differences in views within the party were indiscriminately considered as class struggle. Consequently, political movements were incessantly launched on a full scale, the method of vigorously waging class struggle was used to handle the contradictions among the people; coercive methods replaced the traditional method of persuasion and education in our party's ideological and political work; and things went so far that the "Great Cultural Revolution," whose key substance was the so-called overthrowing of one class by another class, was launched; perseverance in "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was posed as a demand; and two essentially different categories of contradictions were confused to a serious extent. Taking advantage of our party's mistakes, Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company completely altered the revolutionary contents and correct methods of our party's ideological and political work. They did many things which, in essence and in form, served their conspiratorial counterrevolutionary activities. For example, they put forth the "theory of the decisive importance of politics" and the "theory of the omnipotence of spiritual force," which demanded the so-called highlighting of politics and claimed that politics could give impetus to and substitute for everything else. They promoted "falsification, grandiose undertakings, empty talk and deception," which amounted to some anti-Marxist rubbish. They wielded the big stick and stuck labels on people, and so on. Consequently, some people among the masses, in particular those young people who do not understand the party's history, who are ignorant of the party's fine traditions, and who have not been systematically educated in Marxism, have come to misunderstand the party's ideological

and political work. They think that ideological and political work merely amounts to empty talk, the launching of movements and struggles, and saying things for the masses to hear without requiring the leading cadres to earnestly practice what is advocated. Therefore, they do not believe in ideological and political work, and thus the prestige of ideological and political work has declined.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the CCP Central Committee has advocated restoring and promoting our party's fine traditions and styles. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed the principles of freeing ourselves from old ideas, using our brains, seeking truth from facts, and getting united to look forward. People have felt at ease and their minds have never been so active. An unprecedented political situation of vigor, stability and unity has appeared. However, while we criticize phony politics and the "theory of the omnipotence of spiritual force," and emphasize following the principle of material benefits, working according to objective economic laws, shifting the focus of our party's work to the four modernizations and employing economic means to manage the economy, some comrades have come to understand things one-sidedly. They proceed from criticizing phony politics and the "theory of the omnipotence of spiritual force" to believing in the theory that ideological and political work is useless. They proceed from emphasizing taking production as the key task to believing in the theory of abolishing ideological and political work. They misunderstand the principle of emphasizing material benefits as pursuing narrow personal material benefits and advocating "all for money." They misunderstand shelving the slogan of "taking class struggle

the key link" as dispensing with ideological and political work and implying the incorrectness of the idea that ideological and political work is the lifeblood of economic and all other work. Under the influence of these erroneous ideas, some cadres responsible for political work feel disturbed. They want to change their occupation and they are awaiting relocation. Consequently, in some localities and units, ideological and political work has been weakened. Those people concerned dare not justly and forcefully struggle against words and actions that violate the four basic principles. They dare not seriously criticize erroneous ideologies or come out boldly to curb unhealthy trends and evil practices. Consequently, various categories of erroneous ideologies have gained ground and unhealthy trends and evil practices have developed. Currently, on our ideological front, there exist among some of our comrades ideological slackness and weakness and also a trend of indifference toward politics and political theory. We should pay great attention to this. If we do not put an end to this situation through strengthening ideological and political work, we will be unable to continue to achieve progress in our undertakings. Therefore, it is very essential and important to strengthen ideological and political work. We must firmly and skillfully grasp such work.

At present, our country is in an important historical period of bringing order out of chaos, carrying forward our cause and forging ahead into the future. We must thoroughly eliminate the negative consequences of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and open up a great socialist future. We are at a juncture when new things are replacing old things. The ideological situation is complicated. Therefore, we are required to strengthen ideological and political work, and to employ the means of propaganda and education to unify the ideology of the whole party and whole nation on the basis of the party's principles and policies, so that they can keep

pace with the advance of our times. The line, principles and policies set at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee not only differ radically from the leftist ideology of the "Great Cultural Revolution" period, but also differ greatly in many respects from certain principles and policies of the period prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." The putting forth of these new principles and policies represents a great historical change of profound and far-reaching significance. At this juncture of great historical change, there are numerous comments, arguments and opinions about some new principles and methods of construction because people are not familiar with or accustomed to them. It is difficult to avoid this. Since the third plenary session, democracy has greatly developed both inside and outside the party, people's minds have been particularly active, but ideologies have also become extremely complicated. Different views have arisen. Some comrades have not conscientiously eliminated the leftist things pertinent to the "Great Cultural Revolution" from their minds. Therefore, they cannot free themselves from the influence of "taking class struggle as the key link." They always take a leftist stand in viewing any issues. They believe that the line of the third plenary session is "rightist" and "deviationist," and waver in implementing the principles and policies set at the third plenary session. They are far from being resolute in rectifying leftist mistakes. Some other comrades misinterpret the line, principles and policies set at the third plenary session. They think that the third plenary session has not sufficiently thoroughly rectified leftist errors. They waver to various extents in their attitude toward the four basic principles. Some even say that adhering to the four basic principles will impede the implementation of the principles of the third plenary session and will hamper the freeing of people's minds from old ideas. Moreover, the bourgeois ideology of liberalization has also gained ground in society. These circumstances indicate that at present, strengthening our party's ideological and political work is a very urgent and arduous task. Lenin said that in a period of historical change, we "should explain anew the basics of Marxism to those masses." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 17, p 18) In view of various ideological and practical problems, we should use Marxist theory to repeatedly explain to the broad masses of party members, cadres and people that the line of the third plenary session is a Marxist one embodying adherence to scientific socialism, so that the whole party and whole nation can be ideologically unified and will strive to satisfactorily readjust our national economy and carry out the four modernizations.

Aside from realizing the practical necessity and urgency of strengthening ideological and political work, we should also understand the importance of ideological and political work in greater depth with regard to our basic theory, the nature and tasks of our party, and the adherence to and improvement of party leadership.

To strengthen ideological and political work, we must correctly understand the dialectical relationship between matter and consciousness, and between economic activities and politics. However, some comrades always set one absolutely against the other and divorce one from the other. They often stress one aspect and simultaneously neglect or negate the other. Actually, matter and consciousness, or economic activities and politics, are interrelated and do interact. In the final analysis, the entire course of development of human society proceeds amid the interaction between politics and economic activities, such interaction being based on the inevitability of economic changes which continually open up

their own paths of development. Economic activities determine political activities, and in turn politics is the concentrated expression of economic activities. In a class society, the basic economic interests of a particular class find concentrated expression in politics. Such politics invariably serve the formation, consolidation and development of its own economic base, just as socialist politics invariably open up the way for the consolidation and development of the socialist economy. This is the dialectical relationship between politics and economic activities. The idea that ideological and political work is the lifeblood of economic and all other work is a correct idea which is put forth precisely according to the basic viewpoint that politics and economic activities are dialectically related. The idealist viewpoint that ideology can be divorced from matter and that politics can be divorced from economic activities is erroneous. Similarly, negating political and ideological work is also erroneous and denying the counteraction of consciousness is also incorrect. In human society, all activities are carried out by man, and man can think. "All motive forces behind" a man's "action must go through his brain and must change into the motivation of his desire before they can make him take action." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 345) This work of causing changes in man's brain is ideological and political work. Marxism pays great attention to the mighty role of consciousness and holds that consciousness and matter can promote each other. Marx likened philosophy to the brain directing the emancipation of the proletariat, and said that once theory is mastered by the masses, it will become an immense material strength. Advanced ideology and theories which are representative of a revolutionary class can play a very important role in promoting social progress. However, reactionary theories which are representative of decadent and moribund forces will hamper social progress. Under identical objective material conditions, the results of work will definitely differ if there are differences in people's mental state, degree of consciousness or extent of subjective efforts. Therefore, the viewpoint that neglects ideological and political work is erroneous in theory and will lead to failures in practical work. Some comrades think that material things can replace consciousness and bonuses can replace ideological and political work. They lavishly distribute bonuses. Consequently, things turn out to be contrary to their desires. In a few localities, the erroneous ideology of "working according to remuneration" has appeared. People do such things as varying the amount of work done according to the amount of bonuses and refusing to work if there are no bonuses. We should know that money itself cannot generate socialist consciousness and the workers' socialist enthusiasm cannot be aroused by means of bonuses alone. The satisfactory implementation of the principle of material benefits can be ensured only if ideological and political work is done. Moreover, what we call material benefits refer not only to personal material benefits alone, but also to the basic, overall and long-term interests of the masses of people. The latter can be realized only through the collective endeavor of the whole people. An ever increasing number of comrades have now come to deeply understand that if we rely on distributing larger amounts of bonuses alone and slacken ideological and political work, we will be unable to do a good job of building socialism. In a socialist society, if people stress money alone at the expense of lofty socialist and communist ideals, and if people build material civilization alone at the expense of socialist spiritual civilization, then that society will become one in which "money is omnipotent," just as in capitalism. The theory that "money is omnipotent" is erroneous, just as is the theory that "spiritual force is omnipotent." In short, both categories of

one-sided understanding of ideological and political work are incorrect. We should follow objective laws governing things and flexibly integrate political work with economic work. We should implement the principles of unifying politics and economic activities, unifying politics and technology, and requiring people to be both Red and expert. We should grasp the building of socialist spiritual civilization as an important task in ideological and political work. The practice of revolution and construction has repeatedly demonstrated that ideological and political work is the lifeblood of economic and all other work, and that ideological-political work and any other category of work actually supplement and promote each other.

Ideological and political work occupies an important place by virtue of the nature of our party as the vanguard of the proletariat and its responsibility for the great task of realizing communism. Since the founding of our party, it has taken Marxism, the most advanced theory in the contemporary era, as its guiding ideology, "because Marxism is a science; it was derived from the sum total of the revolutionary experiences and ideologies of various countries in the world," and it "has assimilated and transformed all valuable things arising in human ideological and cultural development over the past 2,000 years and more." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 332 and Vol 31, p 283) Mao Zedong Thought is the product of the integration of Marxism-Leninism with China's revolutionary practice. It is a crystallization of the wisdom of the party and the masses of people, a fruit of their collective efforts. The primary task of ideological and political work is to employ Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to educate and arm all our party members and cadres and also the working class, so that they will master a scientific world outlook, become conscious of their class status and historical mission, go into vigorous action, and struggle for the emancipation of their own class and all mankind. However, we should note that scientific socialist thinking cannot arise spontaneously in workers' movements. It must be instilled to the working class from outside. Ours is a country in which peasants are in the majority. Although the peasants are now vastly different from their counterparts of the past, we must note that the influence of small producers still exists among them. The spontaneous thinking of small producers will only lead to egalitarianism. Therefore, it is even more necessary to instill scientific socialist ideology into them. As for people of other class origins, it is yet more essential to educate and transform them by means of scientific socialist ideology. Before we seized political power over the whole country, our party relied on propagating Marxism to inspire, educate, unite and organize the masses, thus mobilizing them to wage extremely arduous struggles to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. After the seizure of political power, the proletariat's task is to use the lever of political power to transform society, put an end to all class differences and class rule, and realize communism through the stage of socialism. To accomplish this task, we must not only have highly developed productive forces, but must also have a high degree of communist consciousness and lofty communist moral qualities. Therefore, in a socialist society, the building of a highly developed material civilization alone is not sufficient. A highly developed spiritual civilization should also be built. There should also be highly developed scientific and educational standards; communist ideology, ideals, beliefs, morals and discipline; revolutionary stand and principles; comradeship between man and man, and so on. Thus, socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization can promote each other. The superiority of the

socialist system and the development of the productive forces give rise to conditions favorable to continuously improving people's mental attitude and ideological consciousness. The enhancing of people's ideological consciousness in turn promotes the development of the productive forces and consolidation of the socialist system. This is tantamount to what Marx and Engels said, that while the proletariat establishes its own political and economic rule, it must also simultaneously establish its own ideological rule. We must substitute the proletarian ideology for bourgeois, feudal and petit bourgeois ideologies, so that Marxism will gradually dominate various ideological realms. This will be a long-term and arduous task, because the domination of ideology cannot be established by coercion, command or use of military power, but must be established through persistent and unrelenting work of education and instillation, and through proving the correctness of Marxism by means of practice so that the masses will be persuaded to accept it, believe it and make courageous endeavors in the orientation it prescribes. Moreover, because ideologies are relatively independent, old ideologies which are representative of the old system will continue to exist in the new society and will not readily vanish even long after the annihilation of the material base which gave birth to them. The establishment and consolidation of the domination of the proletarian ideology involves a long process in which the new ideology struggles against and gradually replaces old ideologies. The building of socialism and the realization of communism can be most solidly ensured only if the Marxist ideology gradually comes to dominate various ideological realms. The CCP Central Committee has recently emphasized that we must grasp the building of a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization as a long-term strategic task. The raising of this question is precisely based on the high plane of building socialism and realizing the lofty communist ideal. Currently, we should take the resolution as our ideological weapon, teach the vast numbers of party cadres to adhere to the four basic principles, and vigorously educate people in the communist ideal and communist morals, so that people will be encouraged to work with a will to make our country strong and make progress, and the progress of our socialist modernization will be quickened.

Strengthening ideological and political work is also the most important point in adhering to and improving party leadership, because adhering to party leadership primarily implies leadership over ideology, politics and the formulation of principles and policies, instead of leadership over technical or administrative matters or routine work. The party exercises leadership over everything, but it does not undertake every task and its leadership does not replace everything else. The party is the core of leadership, but it is not an organ of political power and must not directly issue orders. Aside from the formulation of correct principles and policies, party leadership is realized mainly through a great deal of ideological and political work, spreading propaganda among the masses about the party's principles and policies, and making use of the exemplary actions of the party organizations and all party members to guide and mobilize the masses, thus making them realize that our party's policies represent their basic interests and affect the future and destiny of our country, and thus mobilizing them to struggle consciously for fulfilling the tasks prescribed by our party. Therefore, ideological and political work is a powerful means of realizing party leadership. If this work is weakened, the role of party leadership will also be weakened. As for improving party leadership, in some respects this must be achieved through reforming our party and state leadership systems. For example, reforming the system

whereby leaders hold life-long office; putting an end to the overconcentration of power; reforming the party's relations with government bodies, democratic parties and groups, and mass organizations; and so on. However, improving party leadership is largely a question of improving our party's style of work, and must be achieved through the party's ideological and political work. Even the success in reforming the leadership systems must be ensured by ideological and political work. All party organizations, aside from mastering principles and policies and deciding on the employment of cadres, should devote their time and efforts mainly to ideological and political work, and conscientiously grasp it firmly and satisfactorily, taking it as a substantial task in adhering to and improving party leadership.

Our party's history has testified that, from our party's birth to its growth and gaining of great strength, from the establishment of the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base to the founding of new China, under extremely difficult and adverse conditions, and amid cruel and complicated struggles, our party could get united, fight bravely, advance wave upon wave, remain indomitable, continually achieve victories, and make great contributions to revolution and construction, precisely because it relied on arming all its members ideologically with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, on the strong will, healthy sentiments and lofty virtues which had been nurtured through ideological and political work, and on the firm belief in communism, engendered by communist education coupled with the revolutionary spirit of fighting to the end for the sake of the communist belief. The principle of ideology taking the lead is a correct one.

At present, we are in a new historical period in which ideological and political work, whether in substance or in form, has acquired new characteristics and is governed by new laws. We must continuously sum up our experience so that this work will be more compatible with the new situation and new tasks, and will be more effectively done. Ideological and political work must be strictly centered on the four modernizations. It must be integrated with economic work and various categories of routine, technical and production work, so that the accomplishment of production tasks and other categories of work can be ensured. In ideological and political work, we must thoroughly abandon the styles of indulging in empty talk, sticking labels on people, using absolute principles for exaggerating criticism, and intimidating people by means of power or influence. We must adhere to the principle of enlightenment, present the facts and reason things out, persuade people with skill and patience, enhance people's consciousness by inspiration, widen people's horizons, and convince people by reasoning. We must go deep among the masses, detect problems in production, in work, and in the daily life of the masses, link our work to the ideology of the masses, and solve problems with clear-cut purposes in mind. We must also integrate ideological and political work with an earnest concern for the interests of the masses and with the solution of real problems that should be and can be solved, so that the masses will genuinely feel that the party's principles and policies are formulated in the people's interests. If something is difficult to achieve for the time being, we must explain our difficulty to the masses. Numerous facts have demonstrated that in those localities and departments where ideological and political work is well performed, the contradictions among the people can be satisfactorily solved and other categories of work can be very effectively done. To make ideological and political work really convincing, it is very important for leading cadres and

political cadres to set examples and take the lead. Teaching by example is more vital than by preaching. Demonstration by example is tantamount to silent education. In the 1950's and 1960's, our ideological and political work was highly effective because our party's style of work and prestige were good and the leaders' relationship with the masses was very close. To restore the fine traditions in our ideological and political work, we must perform the key tasks of rectifying our party's style of work, getting the leading cadres to persist in improving themselves in the first place, and earnestly putting an end to some comrades' bureaucratic and patriarchal work style and special privileges in daily life. In ideological and political work, we must also pay attention to discovering advanced models among the masses, use their exemplary deeds to educate and influence the masses, bring positive factors into play, and help backward elements advance.

We have several decades of tradition and rich experience in conducting ideological and political work. If we conscientiously strengthen and improve this work and fully bring the exemplary and leading role of the grassroots party organizations and of the 39 million party members into play, the general mental attitude of people in society will greatly change, the relationship between the party and the masses will greatly improve, the party will more satisfactorily play its leading role in the four modernizations, and the attainment of the magnificent goal of the four modernizations before the end of this century will be basically ensured.

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STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION AMONG YOUNG STUDENTS

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[Article by Lin Ke [2651 0344]]

[Text]

I

The nature of our socialist education determines that it is imperative to strengthen ideological and political education among young students. Education has a dual social role. As part of the superstructure, education serves the political rule of a certain ruling class. In a class society, the ruling class always puts ideological and political education in a primary position and through such education it trains its own intellectuals for exercising rule and carrying out management and propagates and spreads its ideology among people so as to consolidate and strengthen its rule ideologically and politically. It is because of this basic nature of education that different classes have their own different education. On the other hand, it is the basic task of education to pass on knowledge. In particular, natural sciences have developed since the development of the machine-building industry of modern capitalism and they have been increasingly used in production. With this situation, the role and nature of education have also correspondingly changed. Education has been increasingly used as a means to pass on sciences, train scientists and technicians, and teach laborers certain cultural and scientific knowledge and labor skills. Viewed from this angle, education is directly serving the development of the productive force. Our schools also have this task. On the one hand, the purpose of our education is to train young people so that they will be able to maintain firm and correct political orientation, gradually form the proletarian class viewpoint, labor viewpoint, mass viewpoint and the viewpoint of dialectical materialism and the spirit of consciously serving the people. On the other hand it also trains various talented people so that they will have professional knowledge, skills and management ability. Today, these two tasks are inseparable. To maintain correct political orientation and the four basic principles are the premise and basic guarantee for realizing our socialist modernization program, while sciences and technology are indispensable and important conditions and means for the modernization program as well as for realizing our great ideal of communism. These two tasks are shown in a unified way in the purpose of our training. That is to say, the purpose of our education is to enable students to make progress in moral, intellectual, and physical education so that they will become educated laborers with socialist consciousness or talented people for construction who are socialist-minded and professionally competent.

We experienced two mistakes in this respect in the past. Owing to the influence of leftist guiding ideology, our schools one-sidedly stressed for a long time that education must serve proletarian politics. Thus with too many political movements, they ran counter to educational laws and weakened the task of education itself. During the 10 turbulent years, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed this wrong guiding ideology to an extreme, arbitrarily distorted our education by defining it as serving the dictatorship of the proletariat, completely denied the roles of education in passing on professional knowledge and serving productive forces, and advocated that our schools should have only one specialty, that is "the specialty of fighting against capitalist roaders." As a result, our educational cause was seriously damaged. Social order has been restored following the downfall of the "gang of four" and measures have also been taken to gradually correct and criticize various leftist mistakes. Thanks to these measures, an excellent situation has appeared in our schools. But on the pretext of opposing leftist mistakes, some people have one-sidedly stressed that the task of the school is to serve the development of productive force by passing on professional knowledge and training students to master technical skills, and consequently they neglected the necessity of schools to carry out ideological and political education and teach students to have revolutionary ideals and character and cherish the notion of serving the people. These people did not understand, or intentionally denied, the correct ideology and correct orientation which are indispensable and positive factors for protecting and developing productive forces. A technology or knowledge will be able to play a role advantageous to the people and the development of society only under correct ideological guidance. Some other people even suggest importing universities from capitalist countries; this view is in fact giving up the autonomy of education, rejecting the party's leadership over schools and confusing and even denying the demarcation line between socialist and capitalist education. To practice such a thing would result in changes in the nature of socialist education and consequently, instead of improving the socialist modernization program, it would spoil it.

While measures have been taken under the party's correct line and policies to overcome and eradicate leftist mistakes, attention has also been paid to avoid neglecting or denying rightist mistakes in ideological and political work. An important question in carrying out this work is how to proceed from reality and analyze the experiences and lessons during the development of our socialist education. It was true that in the 17 years prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution" our schools were characterized by leftist mistakes such as one-sidedly stressing politics, neglecting professional study to a certain extent, holding excessive political movements, confusing the contradictions of different nature and practicing oversimplification and formalism in ideological and political work, but the orientation and road of our schools were correct. Much successful experience was also gained in holding the party's leadership and socialist orientation and in carrying out ideological and political education among students. Our task is to correctly sum up experiences, affirm achievements, correct shortcomings, study and solve new situations and make further progress on the existing basis. Over the past few years, we of Qinghua University have stuck to these correct principles and methods, reestablished the system of political instructors and class teachers, strengthened ideological and political work among students and carried out various activities among them such as learning from Lei Feng, striving to become three-good students and vying to be advanced collectives. Practice has proven that such activities have played positive roles.

II

To strengthen ideological and political education among young students is also an urgent need put forward by the current situation and the conditions of young students.

First, our country is experiencing an important turning point at present. We have put an end to the 10 turbulent years, while the party Central Committee has eliminated the leftist mistakes in guiding ideology that existed for a long period. The serious results of the sabotage carried out for a long period by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have not been completely eliminated, while the work of restoring order ideologically and rectifying the party's style of work can in no way be regarded as completed. We are now restructuring the economic and political system, and carrying out open-door policies toward foreign countries. Consequently our intercourse and contacts with Western capitalist countries are increasing. All these social changes have been reflected in people's thinking. A most outstanding feature on the ideological front now is that people have become active ideologically and they hold different views and attitudes toward various questions. This situation requires us to strengthen ideological and political work, to help people facing various complicated things differentiate between good and bad, genuine and fake, beautiful and ugly, essence and dross, advanced and backward, correct and wrong and revolutionary and counterrevolutionary, so that they will understand what things are to be conscientiously learned and absorbed, what are to be taken as reference and compared, what are to be opposed and discarded, and what are to be completely eradicated. In this way they will be able to gain unanimous views quite rapidly with regard to correct understanding, so as to guarantee that they will be able to smoothly accomplish the current turning point.

Second, as a class, the exploiting class no longer exists in our country while class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction in our society. But we must also understand that class struggle still exists within a certain scope. In the realm of ideology, the struggles between proletarian ideology and bourgeois, feudal and petty bourgeois ideology still exist. In society, there still exist the remnants of the exploiting class and Lin Biao and the "gang of four," counter-revolutionaries and new exploiting elements such as criminals, embezzlers and profiteers. The struggles between us and them are concentrated on winning over young people. By taking advantage of young people who lack experience, they influence and deceive some of these young people in a bid to attain their goal. Following the implementation of the open-door policies, our contacts with Western countries have increased and the infiltration of international bourgeois ideology has also increased. Therefore we must be clear-headed and enthusiastically help students' organizations carry out various beneficial activities; and at the same time we must pay attention to various bad and corrosive influences, of whatever forms. We must neither treat such situations lightly nor wash our hands of this matter.

Over the past few years, some phenomena have emerged in our schools that merit our attention. Having experienced the 10 turbulent years, some young people have witnessed the dark side of our society, and having discarded the fake Marxism peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," they have turned to bourgeois literary

and political and theoretical works in their efforts to find the answers to the problems they find in society. Consequently they regard decadent theory that has long been subject to criticism by Marxist works and that has exposed its bourgeois limitations in practice as new truth, and they accept it. For example, having failed to distinguish between bourgeois and socialist democracy, some young people have blindly accepted the influence of the bourgeois ideology of "freedom" and "democracy." This situation reminds us that it is imperative to fully understand the difficulty and protractedness of the struggle in the realm of ideology. The remnant of old ideology not only exists in the brains of those who have experienced the old society, but has also spread down in written language and other forms to further display its effect in society. It will not do just to simply prohibit it from spreading. The basic way is to strengthen and expand theoretical education and the influence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the realm of ideology. It is a law of necessity, independent of people's will, that the influences of old ideology will grow and become stronger when our ideological and political work is weakened. We must base ourselves on this fundamental point to understand the importance of strengthening ideological and political education among young students.

Third, we must correctly understand the young people of the present generation. These young people are in the main good and an increasing number of fine elements have emerged from among them. But they were born in new China and they have experienced the 10 turbulent years, and now they are facing major readjustment and reform. They lack experience to compare the old society with the new, and they did not have a good education in basic Marxist viewpoints. On the contrary, they have more experience of the turbulence created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and have been influenced by unhealthy practices within the party and in society. Some of them have accepted the leftist guiding ideology during this period as Marxism, and most have accepted the fake Marxism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as genuine Marxism. Because of this weakening of the party's leadership and ideological and political work in some aspects, various ideological trends have sneaked in among young people, and to a certain degree have affected their ideology. In such a situation, it is understandable that there exists confusion in their thought. Our investigations and analysis show that among the young students, only a few oppose the four basic principles, while the majority defend these principles. But among those who are defending these principles, some have failed to scientifically explain various social shortcomings in the past and at present and the reasons for these shortcomings, and consequently they have a vague understanding with regard to party leadership and the socialist system. They bitterly hate the deceptive and fake Marxism and socialism peddled by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their despicable deeds. They demand to reform what is irrational, they hope that their country will soon become powerful and they are ardent in seeking truth, but they do not have enough experience and capability to distinguish things, and therefore they are vulnerable to the effects of various ideologies. Some students have not really solved the problem of outlook on life and the question of whom to serve. This situation was accelerated by one-sidedness and mistakes in propaganda work, and we cannot blame young people for this situation. But we must clearly understand these problems. We have to pay attention to them and analyze their social and historical reasons, so that we will be able to carry out ideological and political education according to reality.

III

In carrying out ideological and political education among young students, it is imperative to strengthen the party's leadership and this work must be carried out according to the present features of these young people.

It is not strange at all that various problems have cropped up among young students. Whether these problems can be correctly solved depends on the situation of the party's leadership and ideological and political work. In strengthening the party's leadership we must first of all be daring in exercising leadership. That is to say, we must not avoid or take a laissez-faire attitude toward various problems; on the contrary, we must get in touch with them, go deep among the masses and reality to carry out study and investigations and acquaint ourselves with the reasons for these problems. We must take a clear-cut stand, actively wage struggles against various wrong tendencies, ideas and deeds, defend and promote what is good and overcome and eradicate what is bad. Firm stand and clear-cut attitude are based on the correct understanding of questions of principle. The party committees and all the departments responsible for ideological and propaganda work will be able to do effective work only when they have unified understanding, taken unified measures and coordinated with regard to major principles and methods of ideological and political work. As long as the leadership is strong and has unified understanding, it is not difficult to solve many problems. On the contrary, if the leadership is weak and indulgent toward problems, then wrong things will run rampant and get out of hand.

The leadership must also be good at exercising leadership. Special attention must be paid to the methods of carrying out ideological work among students; that is to say, this work must be carried out in line with the features of students; it can in no way be carried out in a rash and stiff manner; nor can we arbitrarily carry out struggle and criticism. The university students of the present time have something in common with the young people of the previous period, but they have the characteristics of their own era. With regard to politics and ideology, our basic demand is that the students must be educated to become the successors to the revolution with resolution and awareness in supporting and upholding the four basic principles, and to be conscious in obeying the need of the motherland with lofty communist ideals and morals. To realize this, it is imperative to carry out education step by step and proceed from the actual conditions of these students so that they will be able to make progress in an orderly way. Our secondary education was seriously damaged during the 10 turbulent years, and consequently there are some shortcomings in the knowledge and morals of young students. Therefore, it is imperative to make up for these shortcomings, to gradually improve their knowledge and morals by carrying out education in patriotism, morals and discipline. We of Qinghua University resorted to three steps in this work. The first step was to demand that students love their motherland, behave in a civilized way and observe discipline. The second step was to raise their socialist consciousness and help them to be able to uphold and support the four basic principles. The third step was to demand that outstanding students cherish more lofty consciousness and become the vanguards of the proletariat. In the final analysis, this work is aimed at overcoming what is wrong with what is correct, resisting the influence of the ideological remnants of feudalism and bourgeois ideology by resorting to communist ideology, and by overcoming petit

bourgeois ideology. We opposed the suggestions made by some people inside and outside the university to abolish theoretical teaching courses in politics. In a difficult situation, we worked hard to improve the contents and methods in the teaching of such courses, and through such courses we strengthened education in Marxist basic viewpoints, stand and method, and strengthened the party's leadership and education regarding the superiority of socialism. Owing to the fact that students lacked basic knowledge of Marxism and history and consequently had a vague understanding on many questions, we added modern Chinese history to the political course for the first-year students. Thus through historical facts we carried out political education among students and taught them to understand that only socialism can save China and that without the Communist Party there would be no new China. We have made quite good achievements in this work. Some students held that "it is a historical mistake for China to take the socialist road," and that "as China did not experience the stage of capitalism, it has to do so now" and even said that "the cause of China might proceed even better without leadership by the Communist Party." Through studying modern history, many students began to understand that the party's leadership and the socialist road are historical necessities and have been accepted by hundreds of millions of people; they have not emerged just because of propaganda. A student said: "It turns out that it is not that China has to make up a missed lesson of capitalism, it is we who have to make up a missed lesson of the modern history of China."

Young people are characterized by lively but vacillating thinking, and have very great instability; therefore with strengthened education and correct methods, many problems can be resolved. Consequently, in carrying out ideological and political education, we must have confidence in the majority of young people and therefore it is necessary to resort to education by positive example as the main thing, in various forms. It is necessary to educate students in class and to let them carry out lively and free discussions outside class and to resort to theoretical and persuasive propaganda and effect images (such as movies and visiting exhibitions). Over the past few years we have persisted in carrying out among students activities of learning from Lei Feng, vying to become three-good students and creating advanced collectives. These activities have proven in practice to be a good form for the masses in self-education. The slogan of "I must start from now on to contribute to the modernization program" was put forth by students themselves in their activities of creating advanced collectives, on the basis of strengthening ideological and political work. This slogan shows young people's socialist initiative and sense of responsibility and it also shows that so long as we take a positive attitude in properly guiding young people, they will be able to bring into play their initiative factor.

Analytical studies must be made of various problems of ideology and understanding among young students. We must affirm and promote their active and correct ideology and understanding, while democratic discussions must be held and persuasion undertaken with regard to what is wrong or improper, so as to lead them to accept truth through their own consideration and comparison. Those who cannot accept truth for the time being must not be forced to accept it, they must be given time to consider. In short, we must resort to the principle of enlightening young students and pay attention to enlightenment in guiding them so that we will be able to lead them to grow healthily. Last winter our university held district people's congress and students' union elections. In their attempt to create confusion a

few students took advantage of these activities to spread words that departed from party leadership and ran counter to the four basic principles. Some of the students who lacked the ability to distinguish things agreed with such words. In this situation, we proceeded from our confidence in the majority and we did not take measures to simply obstruct or suppress them; on the contrary, we strengthened leadership, coupled with positive enlightenment. On the other hand, we demanded that party organizations, cadres and party members at various levels observe democratic order in carrying out their work so as to bring democracy into full play. During the education, the party committee repeatedly clarified through various channels the relations between party leadership and displaying democracy, between leadership and mass organizations, and between displaying democracy and stability and unity and talked about what kind of people should be elected. At the same time, cadres at various levels solicited students' criticisms and opinions on the work of the university. We accepted their correct criticisms and opinions, and improved work and solved problems in due time. With regard to the opinions and demands that were wrong or could not be accepted for the time being, we gave explanations to educate the students concerned. Thanks to these measures, the elections were carried out smoothly and victoriously.

In order to do a good job in carrying out ideological and political work among young students, it is also necessary, according to the needs of the situation, to further build up the ranks of ideological and political workers. In the 17 years prior to the Cultural Revolution, Qinghua University set up a force of political workers who were socialist-minded and vocationally proficient and were "shouldering double tasks" (they were responsible for carrying out ideological and political work among students as well as for teaching them). Now we have restored the system of political instructors. These are composed of cadres from this force and some outstanding comrades from among young teachers, postgraduates and senior students who carry out their own work side by side with political instructing. We have also set up a political work system for students, consisting of the three ranks of political instructors, party and CYL organizations, and teachers who are in charge of classes and theoretical teachers. We have also paid attention to combining professional staff with the masses, and advocated that teachers must not only teach students but also educate them and that all departments must carry out ideological and political work among students. Thanks to the party's education over the past many years, the majority of the teachers in our university have their own experiences and lessons and are capable of carrying out ideological and political education among young students. Many young, middle-aged and old teachers have passed on their experiences to young students and told them how to become socialist-minded and professionally proficient; they talk to them about the difference between the two social systems, the party's leadership and the superiority of socialism.

It is particularly important at present to pay attention to training activist and backbone elements from among students so that they will be able to play their roles in carrying out ideological and political education and work among students. The students who are party members and cadres of CYL organizations are not only large in number but are also an indispensable force for carrying out ideological and political education and work among students. The education carried out by various sectors will be effective only if it is carried out through party and CYL organizations among young students or is supported and coordinated by these organizations.

In this way, the outstanding students will also have the opportunity during their study period to train themselves in the practice of carrying out ideological and political work so that they will undergo all-round development in moral, intellectual and physical education. To train student cadres is in fact training reserve cadres for the various tasks of the party. Now there are not many party-member students, while the vanguard and exemplary roles of party and CYL members are yet to be further displayed, and this is not in line with the needs of our situation. Therefore it is imperative to do a good job among party-member students and activists, strengthen education among them so that they will be able to fully play their roles, strengthen the building of the party, train and absorb some outstanding students into the party, strengthen the building of CYL organizations and fully display the advanced roles of CYL members.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, has been promulgated. This resolution is a powerful ideological weapon for us in carrying out ideological and political work in schools and in unifying our ideology so that we will be able to advance. We must study and propagate this resolution well so that the party's ideological and political work will be able to play an even more powerful force.

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THE SYSTEM OF ASSIGNING RESPONSIBILITY BY LINKING REMUNERATION TO OUTPUT HAS GIVEN
PLAY TO THE SUPERIORITY OF SOCIALIST COLLECTIVE AGRICULTURE—INVESTIGATION OF THE
SYSTEM OF ASSIGNING RESPONSIBILITY BY LINKING REMUNERATION TO OUTPUT PRACTICED IN
THREE PREFECTURES IN ANHUI AND SHANDONG PROVINCES

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[Text] Chuxian Prefecture of Anhui Province and Liaocheng and Yantai Prefectures of Shandong Province have introduced different forms of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, achieving notable results. In the past, a considerable number of people's communes, production brigades and production teams of Chuxian and Liaocheng Prefectures were in a backward state: "They depended on grain resold to them by the state, loans for production and relief for subsidies." But, after the implementation of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, it took them only 2 years to stand on their feet. Production teams practicing the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output in Chuxian Prefecture constituted more than 85 percent of the total number of production teams. They mainly followed the system of fixing output quotas for individual households or the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. Chuxian Prefecture conquered the exceptionally severe drought in 1979 and set historical records in the total output of grain and oil-bearing crops. For 16 years they had failed to fulfill the state purchase quotas for grain, but that year they overfulfilled the quota by 10.38 percent. They again conquered various natural disasters in 1980, and the total outputs of grain and edible oils increased by 13.6 and 52 percent respectively over those of the previous year. The grain they handed over or sold to the state was 18 percent more than in 1979. The average per-capita income from collective production was 51 yuan in 1978, 99 yuan in 1979 and 128 yuan in 1980. In the production of grain and cotton, the production teams which implemented the system of fixing output quotas for individual households or the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion in Liaocheng Prefecture constituted 24.3 and 51 percent respectively, and those which introduced the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output accounted for 63.8 and 36.8 percent respectively. The total cotton output in 1980 totaled 3.23 million dan, 2.19 million dan more than in the previous year. The average per-capita income of the commune members from collective production was 45 yuan in 1979 and increased drastically to 126 yuan in 1980. The

production brigades which implemented the system of responsibility for a special line of production under a contract linking remuneration to output constituted 74 percent of the total number of the production brigades. Over the past 2 years, agriculture has been developing at a remarkable pace. The agricultural income from 1956 to 1978 increased by an average of 73 million yuan every year, and that from 1979 to 1980 by 455 million yuan, the latter figure being 6 times the former. The average per-capita income from collective production from 1956 to 1978 increased by an average of 3 yuan every year and from 1979 to 1980 by 33 yuan. The latter was 11 times that of the former. In 1978, in the whole prefecture there was not a single production brigade in which the average per-capita income from collective production was above 300 yuan, but there were 294 such production brigades in 1980.

I. The System of Assigning Responsibility by Linking Remuneration to Output Has Given Play to the Superiority of Socialist Collective Agriculture

The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output helped readjust and improve the relations of production of socialist collective agriculture; thus propelling the advance of production.

1. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output has heightened the commune members' consciousness and initiative in their work. After implementation of the system, the quality of work was closely integrated with the income of the commune members. They felt more acutely that they were the masters of production; hence their consciousness and initiative in their work were greatly strengthened. As a result, the practices of "giving arbitrary orders in production," "doing things in a massive and unplanned way in work" and "practicing absolute egalitarianism in distribution" were avoided.

2. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output has effectively tapped labor resources and raised labor efficiency. In the past, in some production teams, apart from the cadres and persons engaged in official business and miscellaneous affairs, few men would go to work in the fields and production depended mainly on women. Now, not only all members of a family, including men and women, old and young, are mobilized, but also those "team leaders involved in foreign affairs," "committee members with a spade on the shoulder" and "senior commune members" wandering about doing nothing have all gone to work in the fields. Work efficiency has increased from 1 fold to 6 or 7 fold as a result.

3. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to tapping the potential of funds and carrying out expanded reproduction. After implementation of the system, in order to gain more from above-quota production, the commune members adopted various effective measures to increase production in every possible way and enthusiastically made investments in fertilizer and other means of production. The commune members of Liaocheng Prefecture invested a total of 33 million yuan last year to buy 60 million jin of chemical fertilizer and cake fertilizer. Judging from some typical cases in Chuxian and Liaocheng Prefectures, the commune members displayed considerable ability in accumulating funds privately. The commune members in one county invested roughly 3.9 million yuan on average and those in a commune 260,000 yuan

to 30,000 yuan. The investment made by every peasant household ranged from 90 to 100 yuan to 200 yuan. The funds accumulated privately by the members of Sixiang people's commune of Jiashan County, 263,000 yuan, were over 500 times the state loans granted to them in the same period. These investments were used not only in agriculture but also in commune and brigade-run enterprises.

4. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to the practice of business accounting and the improvement of the economic effort. Implementation of the system has caused the commune members to pay attention to economic effects, careful calculation and strict budgeting, and has cut down on expenditures and increased earnings. Collective pig raising and agricultural machinery were two major projects in Rushan County of Yantai Prefecture which required a large investment, had high costs and yielded poor economic returns. After implementation of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, 69 percent of the 427 collectively run pig farms throughout the county turned a loss of 460,000 yuan in 1978 into a gain of 161,000 yuan in 1980. The cost per mu of agricultural machinery operation decreased from 0.54 yuan in 1978 to 0.43 yuan. The proportion of various expenditures in the total revenues of Gaotang County of Liaocheng Prefecture decreased from 44.5 percent in 1979 to 24.5 percent in 1980.

5. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to the readjustment of the agricultural collective structure and has opened up extensive opportunities for developing a diversified economy. After adoption of the system, commune members have the power to make their own decisions. They are in a position to rationally arrange production and develop a diversified economy according to their own specific conditions. Barren land has been fully utilized. The household sideline occupations of commune members have developed remarkably. The income from the household sideline occupations of the commune members of Wenchen people's commune of Chiping County in Liaocheng Prefecture in 1980 was nearly 5 times more than in the previous year. According to Anhui Province's investigation of 500 commune member households, the proportion of household sideline production in the total net income of the commune members was 24 percent in 1978, 33.1 percent in 1979 and 45.5 percent in 1980. The commune members' average per-capita income from household sideline production in Yantai Prefecture was 29 yuan in 1978, 41 yuan in 1979 and 54 yuan in 1980.

6. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to making the best use of the farming season and has strengthened drought resistance to a certain extent. After following the system, the vast numbers of commune members had a strong sense of the responsibility of being the masters, and did not delay in using the farming season to make arrangements for plowing, sowing, field management and harvesting. In 1980, the summer rainy season set in earlier than usual in Chuxian Prefecture and it continued for a longer time. Wherever the system of fixing output quotas for households was followed, the commune members went to work in the fields weeding in their rain-coats with bamboo hats on their heads. As a result, no farmland was taken over by weeds. It was raining when the wheat harvest started. Wherever the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output was not implemented, the wheat mildewed and rotted and great losses were incurred. But in the production teams which carried out the system of fixing output quotas for

households, the commune members, young and old, rushed to gather in and thresh the wheat, and thus no losses were incurred. Anhui Province suffered serious natural disasters in 1980. The higher the number of production teams implementing the system of fixing output quotas for households, the greater was the increase in output. The lower the number of production teams implementing the system of fixing output quotas for households, the lower was the increase in output. And in the regions where the system of fixing output quotas for households was banned, production decreased greatly.

7. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to the popularization of agricultural science and technology. After the system was introduced, the peasants closely listened to radio broadcasts on scientific and technical lectures, weather broadcasts, and programs on the prevention and control of plant diseases and the elimination of pests. After the system of fixing output quotas for households was introduced in Chuxian Prefecture, the peasants would go to localities where output was high to exchange fine varieties of seed. Regarding seed selection, it was not easy in the past to get people to pay attention to patch selection and ear selection. Now they do both patch selection and ear selection well, and, furthermore, some commune members even do grain-to-grain seed selection before sowing.

The implementation of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output has given impetus to the mechanization of agricultural machinery. In 1980, Liaocheng Prefecture acquired 3,700 tractors, 3,100 motor generators and 1,000 diesel engines. Fengyang County had a new addition of 501 hand-held tractors, equal to half of the total current figure. Jiasha County's Taiping people's commune, which is suited to machinery operation, recently bought new agricultural machinery, equal to the total of the preceding 20 years.

8. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output has effectively promoted the common weal in the rural areas. This system has helped large numbers of poor communes, brigades and teams to stand on their own feet. In distribution of grain rations and income, some of them have surpassed the level of the prosperous local communes, brigades and teams. Under these circumstances, the prosperous communes, brigades and teams also tried hard to further develop production. The result was that the common prosperity was obtained for the rural areas.

Since introduction of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, and with the corresponding development of production, some improvements have been effected in the material and cultural life of the commune members. According to statistics released by Gaotang County, 40,000 new rooms have been built, and 4,500 sewing machines, 5,600 bicycles, 1,500 wristwatches and 15,000 radios, and television sets as well as furniture were bought last year. After work, the commune members go to the theater or the cinema at the commune, or watch television, listen to stories, read newspapers or attend lectures on science. With the rise in income and the improvement of the standard of living of the peasants, more and more young people have settled down to farmwork and some young people who had left the communes have begun to return. According to Gaotang's investigation of four communes, of the 1,121 laborers who had left the communes over the past few years, 949 returned last year.

9. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to the consolidation and strengthening of the collective economy. This system has promoted the development of production and helped to increase the income of the collective, thus strengthening the collective economy. The collective economies of some poor and backward communes, brigades and teams of Liaocheng and Chuxian Prefectures had always been weak and even remained mere skeletons for more than 2 decades beginning with the cooperativization movement. In 1980, the counties in Liaocheng Prefecture which widely adopted the system of fixing output quotas for individual households reaped bumper harvests in grain and oil-bearing crops, and the collective accumulation was greater than in the previous year. The collective accumulation of Jiashan County increased by 34.4 percent, of Fengyang County by 29.3 percent, of Laian County by 30.3 percent and of Dingyuan County by 6.5 percent. Liaocheng Prefecture retained 140 yuan for the collective, an increase of 1.4 times over that of the previous year. In addition, the production teams paid off all their loans for 1980 and made advance payments and paid taxes for the same year totaling 76 million yuan. They still owe 83,540,000 yuan in longstanding debts, but 31 percent of this amount has been paid off by the teams.

10. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output has built close relations between the cadres and the masses, and changes have taken place in the general mood of society. "Being responsible for the farmland under a contract, the cadres have become commune members." The problem of getting cadres to take part in productive labor--a practice that has been encouraged--remained unsolved for many years but has now been solved. There are fewer cadres who indulge in unhealthy practices and subjectivism and issue arbitrary orders. Great changes have taken place in the people's mental attitude and the general mood of society. Family members live in harmony with fewer family disputes. Those who are industrious have become greater in number while those who engage in pilfering have become fewer in number.

II. The System of Assigning Responsibility by Linking Remuneration to Output Has Solved the Problem of Inner Motive Force in the Development of China's Socialist Agriculture

Why does the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output give play to the superiority of socialist collective agriculture? The main reason lies in the fact that it can closely integrate the individual interests of commune members with the end results of production and better implement the principle of "to each according to his work."

After realization of the public ownership of the means of production, the focus of our work should have been shifted to the study and solution of the problem of how to better integrate the means of production with the laborers in the process of production, to implement well the principle of "to each according to his work," to fully mobilize the enthusiasm of the vast numbers of peasants for socialism, to bring the superiority of the socialist collective economy into play and to speed up the development of production. But owing to the lack of experience and the erroneous influence of "leftist" thinking, we have for a long time not only neglected this problem but departed from the requirements for development of the productive forces. We have continuously changed the relations of production,

continuously indulged in "transition" and "upgrading" in the forms of ownership and practiced egalitarianism in distribution. Just when the cadres and masses of commune members were exploring the introduction of various forms of the production responsibility system, such as "the system of fixed targets for output quotas, workdays and costs, with part of the extra output as a reward" and "being responsible for the farmland under a contract," all this was criticized as "capitalism" and "revisionism," thus seriously dampening the enthusiasm of commune members for production. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee criticized the mistakes of "leftist" ideology and supported the wishes and creative spirit of the broad masses of peasants, thus promoting the vigorous development of various forms of the production responsibility system, in particular the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, in all regions. After the introduction of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, the commune members (or working units) signed contracts with the production teams which stipulated the obligations and authority of the production teams and the obligations and rights of the commune members. Within the limits of these contracts, commune members have the right to arrange production on their own initiative and farm the land and adopt measures to increase production according to their own specific conditions, and the right to reject the issuance of arbitrary orders. In this way, the major problem of how to realize centralized guidance and personal responsibility and collective management and decentralized administration in production in a sector of the collective economy has been solved. Many longstanding unsolved contradictions in production between the cadres and commune members, and between the collective and the individual, have now been settled. First, the economic interests of the collective were closely integrated with the personal interests of the commune members. If we say that the portion within the fixed output quotas under a contract can better reflect the interests of the collective, then the portion in excess of the output quotas under a contract can better embody the interests of the individual. In order to gain interests in excess of the fixed quotas, a commune member first of all has to fulfill the fixed quotas under a contract. Second, the principle of "more pay for more work" is really carried out among the commune members. Unlike industrial production, in agricultural production, owing to differences in ability of personnel, the quality of labor, the proficiency of technology, the quality and timeliness of farming, and even under the circumstances in which the land and conditions of production are the same, the results of labor still vary greatly and they cannot be checked easily in the process of production. Only the end results of labor can relatively accurately reflect the quantity and quality of the labor. Payment according to quantity of the end product was banned in the past, and only the method of "calculating workpoints on the basis of work done" and other such methods were practiced. This could not reflect the principle of "more pay for more work." The present system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output stipulates that the portion in excess of the fixed quotas is turned over to the individual. This is the simplest and easiest way to reflect the principle of "more pay for more work" and is warmly welcomed by the commune members. Third, the proper interests of the commune members are clearly stipulated in the contracts. This has effectively put an end to the past practices of "egalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition" and of some cadres taking more than their share. As a result, the situation in which the cadres slipped away, that is, the slippery fellows stood with folded arms and the honest people were so enraged that they would not go on working, was overcome.

Some people regard assembling people to work under a centralized administration and "doing things in a massive and unplanned way" as socialized mass production and take it as the socialist road to transform the small-scale peasant economy. For this reason, they oppose the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output. This is a misunderstanding of socialized mass production. There are also some people who lump collective ownership with assembling people to work under a centralized administration and hold that assembling all people to "do things in a massive and unplanned way" means a collective economy and socialism. Under the present system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, the commune members, in general, work individually. For this reason, some people think that the collective economy is being "dissolved." This is also a misunderstanding of the collective economy. The question of whether the means of production belong to the collective or to the individual and the question of centralization and decentralization in labor organization and its scale are two entirely different matters. What we uphold is the collective ownership of the means of production but not the practice of assembling people "to do things in a massive and unplanned way." The question of whether to do work in a centralized or decentralized way depends on the actual needs of production and will be decided by whether it is conducive to the improvement of labor efficiency and the increase of both production and income. Whether to do work in a centralized or decentralized way depends on the situation. Under China's present condition, in which farmwork is mainly done by hand, the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output divides collective work into parts which are fulfilled by the commune members separately. This has improved labor efficiency, the quality of work and the economic effect. This is not the so-called "dissolution" of the collective economy but precisely the effective measure to consolidate and develop the collective economy.

Some people even indiscriminately regard the demands of the commune members to implement the system of fixing output quotas for households, the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion or the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output as a manifestation of the peasants having lost confidence in the collective economy. In fact, this argument needs a concrete analysis. On many occasions, the peasants' demand to follow the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output does not mean that they have lost confidence in the collective economy, but they have instead lost confidence in the past practices of the "transition through poverty," "doing things in a massive and unplanned way," "absolute egalitarianism" and "giving arbitrary orders." As soon as the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output was adopted and the "leftist" mistakes were corrected, the peasants' enthusiasm for production soared and they had full confidence in doing a good job in the collective economy. In conducting this investigation, we saw everywhere that the peasants love the collective, the country and socialism. Even in places where the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion was followed, after harvesting, the peasants always handed over or sold the best of their grain to the state. They actively pay off not only the state loans of the same year but also the loans owed over the years, and they enthusiastically accumulate funds by themselves to purchase the means of production. They use state loans as little as possible or even do not use them at all. Examples of this kind are not rare and they are very touching. We must never underrate the consciousness of the peasants, who have

taken the socialist road of collectivization under the leadership of the party for more than 2 decades.

These matters should be thrashed out theoretically. This will be conducive to the further mobilization of the enthusiasm and initiative of the vast numbers of peasants and cadres, the implementation and perfection of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output and the better development of the superiority of China's socialist agriculture.

III. Raise the Consciousness To Implement the System of Assigning Responsibility by Linking Remuneration to Output

To make the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output give better play to the superiority of the socialist system, it is very important to strengthen and perfect the responsibility system itself. Today, the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is vigorously developing and being perfected step by step in all localities throughout the country. This situation is gratifying. However, some problems have cropped up. According to the investigation of the three prefectures, the main problems are: First, some commune members are afraid that the policies will change some day, with the result that in production they stress only intermediate earnings and are reluctant to make investments in improving soil fertility, buying large-scale farm implements and cattle, and in afforestation and other agricultural capital construction projects, they do not make long-range plans. The commune members say: "If the policies are not changed, we will be able to apply chemical fertilizer in 1 year, cake fertilizer in 2 years and green manure in 3 years." This problem merits our special attention. Second, some grassroots cadres abandoned or relaxed leadership over the responsibility system; some of them could not offer leadership or some even "wrangled" with the masses over the choice of the forms of the responsibility system. The cause of these problems lies mainly in the fact that people do not have a clear understanding of the nature, characteristics and trend of development. Thus there is blindness, because the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is new. Therefore, it would be very useful to go further into and explain in theory the characteristics and the laws of development of the system in order to strengthen the commune members' and cadres' consciousness in implementing the responsibility system and overcoming their blindness.

During our investigation, we realized that the characteristics and trend of development of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output could be summarized as universality, diversity and protracted nature.

1. Universality: The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is conducive to bringing the superiority of the socialist economy into full play and can create high labor efficiency, output and economic income. Therefore, an irresistible trend throughout the country has begun to form. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is better than the system of assigning responsibility by not linking remuneration to output. Last year the responsibility system practiced in Liaocheng Prefecture developed unevenly. The responsibility system in grain production was not as good as that in the production of cotton, and the responsibility system in the

diversified economy was not as good as that in the production of grain and cotton. The responsibility system practiced in various sectors of forestry was the most backward. Wherever the responsibility system was adopted late, economic losses were incurred. The proportion of the diversified economy in the whole agricultural sector throughout the province decreased from 18.4 percent in 1979 to 12.2 percent. The reason was that the responsibility system practiced in forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery was far from perfect compared with that practiced in the production of cotton. The former was carried out on a smaller scale than the latter. The system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output was not carried out well in the fruit tree sector, thus causing a reduction in output. Particularly in forestry, the imperfection of the responsibility system resulted in wanton felling of trees in three counties.

Provided that the masses of commune members urgently demand the adoption of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, not only the production teams and ordinary teams which have had economic difficulties, but also the relatively prosperous teams should follow the system as well. There were two prosperous teams in Gaotang County (Xiaolilou and Tianpai) which consistently had high outputs. The production teams around them had adopted the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output. The persons in charge of these two teams held that there was no need for them to adopt the system since they were prosperous teams. As a result, they fell behind in output and economic income. By the unanimous demand of the masses, they eventually adopted the system. The persons in charge of these two teams told us of their personal experience: "Prosperous teams should also not eat from one big public pot." Many prosperous teams in Yantai Prefecture had the same experience.

It is necessary for producers to adopt the responsibility system and for managers to adopt the system of job responsibility. The experience of Chuxian and Liaocheng Prefectures has shown that whether the system of job responsibility of managers is carried out well has a vital bearing on the responsibility of producers. Furthermore, these two systems should link remuneration closely to output and economic interests.

2. Diversity: Various forms of the production responsibility system coexist. They are expected to compete in practice, to make up for each other's deficiencies by acquiring each other's strong points and perfect themselves continuously. The masses are allowed to make the choice on their own accord on a priority basis after making adequate comparisons through practice.

The present system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output includes the system of fixing output quotas for a special line of production under a contract, the responsibility system basing remuneration on production (including fixing output quotas for each group or each household or every able-bodied laborer and linking remuneration to output), the system of fixing output quotas for each able-bodied laborer by linking remuneration to output under the unified administration of the teams, the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. Various forms of the responsibility system coexist

not only throughout the country but also in a province, a county, a commune and even in a production team. The substance and methods of the same form of responsibility adopted in different localities vary greatly. For instance, the "system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion" practiced in Chuxian Prefecture differs in concrete aspects from that practiced in Liaocheng Prefecture. We should treat the various forms of the responsibility system chosen by the masses on their own accord on an equal basis without discrimination, and should warmly support and not discriminate against them. We should not deviate from the specific local conditions at the time and belittle one form while praising the other.

Over the past 2 years, the common trend in the development of the responsibility system practiced in these three prefectures was from the responsibility system not linking remuneration to output to linking remuneration to output, and from assigning responsibility to each group to assigning responsibility to each able-bodied laborer. With the development of division and specialization in production, a trend of development from fixing output quotas for a complete (small but complete) line of production under a contract to fixing output quotas for each special line of production under a contract began to emerge. But, owing to the backwardness of China's present system of specialization and division of production and commodity economy, this trend was not so obvious in many regions. In most cases, those who went with this trend had higher earnings and those who went against it had lower earnings or even suffered losses. Of course, in mentioning these trends we are referring to the principal aspects, for there are secondary aspects as well. For instance, the responsibility system of fixing quotas for each special line of production and linking remuneration to output under a contract was a relatively advanced and perfect form, and it was also the orientation we advocated. However, the production teams which lacked a diversified economy were unable to adopt it. In certain cases, sometimes even the system of assigning responsibility without linking remuneration to output played a positive role. Judging whether a certain form of responsibility system is suitable for a definite unit depends on whether it suits the level of concrete productive forces, the level of management, the development of specialization and division of production and the diversified economy, the wishes of the masses and the conditions of leading bodies of the local units at the time, and on whether it promotes the development of the productive forces, whether the promotional role and the amount of economic return is large or small. We must not divorce ourselves from actual conditions by discussing in abstract terms which form is superior.

These three prefectures held in general that the communes, brigades and teams in poor and backward regions were suited to the adoption of the system of fixing output quotas for individual households and the system of peasant households assuming full responsibility for task completion. The communes, brigades and teams in prosperous and advanced regions had suitable conditions for adopting the system of responsibility for a special line of production under a contract linking remuneration to output, and those in regions in an intermediate state had suitable conditions for adopting the system of assigning output quotas to individual able-bodied laborers under the unified administration of the production teams. This classification of types is only a rough outline of its orientation. The specific conditions vary tremendously and are very complicated and

contain many exceptions. For instance, some prosperous teams in Chuxian Prefecture adopted the "system of fixing output quotas for households" on their own accord, with good economic results. The masses of some production teams located in scattered hilly regions in Anhui Province were willing to continue practicing the system of unified distribution under the administration of the production brigade as the basic accounting unit, but unwilling to adopt the "system of fixing output quotas for individual households." Even some poor and less advanced production teams which were not in regions in an intermediate state demanded to follow the "system of assigning output quotas for individual able-bodied laborers under the unified administration of the production teams." Therefore, the classification of types can only serve as a reference in the orientation of macro-economic guidance, and it cannot be used as restrictions and regulations to be applied indiscriminately. Furthermore, one should not impose it on the peasants or "wrangle" with them over it.

The advantages of maintaining the diversity of production responsibility systems are not only that this is suited to the imbalances of economic development in the various regions of our country and to the levels of the productive forces in different regions and management of cadres, but is also conducive to making up deficiencies by acquiring another's strong points, perfecting and improving the various systems themselves step by step and avoiding "finding a single solution for diverse problems" and repeating historical mistakes.

3. Protracted nature: As a management system of the collective economy, the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output is a powerful measure to bring the superiority of the socialist system into play. Therefore, it is not a measure of expediency but will exist over a long period of time. The various concrete forms of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output are chosen by the majority of the masses of the production teams on their own accord. So long as they desire to follow the system, they are entitled to do so over a long period of time, and no time limits are expected. If in the future the masses think there is a better form they want to adopt and they want to advance to a better form, they are by right in a position to do so. Provided the masses and grassroots cadres have a good theoretical understanding of the inevitability of the long-term existence of the system of assigning responsibility by linking remuneration to output, they will no longer "fear that the policies will change."

In its protracted development, the production responsibility system will undergo the process of being instituted, perfected and improved, and it is not unalterable. By perfection we mean properly solving the concrete contradictions and problems occurring in implementing the responsibility system so as to perfect and rationalize it step by step. By improvement we mean improving the responsibility system to the height of rational orientation so as to better promote the all-round development of production, to produce better economic results and to better practice the principle of "to each according to his work" in distribution. This improvement should be carried out in accordance with its own intrinsic laws, that is, the principle of proceeding from the needs and the wishes of the masses, and not in accordance with the rigid regulations imposed by the leadership through administrative measures and commandism. The forms of the responsibility system should have a certain stability. Even if some problems crop up, they

should not be changed easily in the busy farming season. By the time of the slack season, that is, when the yearend summing-up arrives, we have more time on the one hand and, on the other hand, we are able to have a clearer understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of the methods of a year's practice of production. Then we can deliberate whether we need the methods or how to perfect and improve them. First, production will not be affected and, second, we can see matters more accurately, enabling us to make improvements.

In the process of instituting, perfecting and improving the responsibility system, it is very important to strengthen leadership. The various problems cropping up in the process of establishing the responsibility system in many regions are inseparable from the abandoning or relaxing of leadership or the divergence of views on the system within the leadership. According to the experience of these prefectures, the responsibilities of the leadership are mainly: 1) Grasp and explain well the party's policies to the masses; 2) direct and supervise the signing of contracts and their effective implementation; 3) be directors of logistics units--help solve the matters of policy and actual problems that the masses cannot solve themselves; and 4) based on actual conditions, do good ideological and political work. Leadership should not be abandoned, nor should the principle of keeping the initiative in the hands of masses and respecting the wishes of the masses be violated. The leadership should study how to make the cadres of the communes, brigades and teams small in number but highly trained and how to help them adopt new work methods in accordance with the new situation in which the commune members have decisionmaking power in farming with the initiative in their own hands and the cadres who are responsible for the farmland under a contract take part in productive labor after the responsibility system is adopted. This is now an important matter which demands our urgent study and solution.

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HISTORICAL ROOTS OF SOVIET HEGEMONISM

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 21-25

[Article by Li Yuanming [2621 0337 2494]]

[Text] It is not an accidental phenomenon, but one with deep social, economic, ideological and historical roots, that the Soviet social imperialists have been pursuing hegemonism throughout the world. If we trace the historical roots of Soviet hegemonism, we can see that there is an obvious historical tradition in its military conquests of neighboring countries, its policies of seeking world hegemony, its theory of expansion abroad and its methods and strategy of aggression.

I

The predecessor of the Soviet Union was czarist Russia. For centuries, using their military forces supplemented by diplomatic means, the czars expanded their territory in every direction and forced other countries to "merge" into it; thus they established a vast country. Roughly, czarist Russia had the following characteristics in its development:

1. Czarist Russia was the product of continuous expansion and aggression.

During the 14th and 15th centuries the Duchy of Moscow gradually grew strong in its struggle against the Mongolian rule and finally conquered the Golden Horde, unified all the dukedoms in Russia and founded a powerful and prosperous Russian national state. The Russian people have a history of heroic struggle against the Tartar aggression, the French aggression of Napoleon Bonaparte and other foreign aggressions.

Marx pointed out that when the Russian people "made their first appearance in history their places of origin were the upper Volga and the upper regions of its tributaries, the upper Dnieper, the upper Don and the upper Severnaya Dvina. The coast at the end of the Gulf of Finland was the only sea coast area of their territories." (Marx: "Inside Story of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century," p 79) However, in the history of three centuries after their appearance, the czars such as Ivan IV, Peter I, Catherine II, Alexander I and Nicholas I continuously expanded their territory. By the first half of the 19th century Russia had already been expanded into an enormous empire that occupied vast areas in both Europe and Asia with a total area of 22.8 million square kilometers, 20 times

bigger than the kingdom of Russia at the beginning of the 16th century. This empire occupied one-sixth of the world's land area and its territory stretched to half of Europe and one-third of Asia. Alexander III once boasted: "Russia is the sixth continent." The speed, scale and continuousness of the expansion of the Russian empire was rare in world history.

2. The Russian empire constantly pursued a policy of world conquest.

At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, Peter I (1682-1725) started czarist Russia's struggle for world hegemony. While striving to gain a foothold on the Baltic Sea, Peter I wrested from Sweden a castle on the bank of the Neva River and built in its vicinity Paulograd, which was later called St Petersburg, and moved his capital there from Moscow. Marx pointed out that the new capital built by Peter I within the range of the fire of a gun on the border of his country "was not the traditional center of the development of the nation but a hideout painstakingly selected for the purpose of engaging in international schemes." (ibid., p 81) From the very beginning the moving of the capital to St Petersburg as a remote center showed that "a circle was waiting to be drawn." (ibid.) The moving of the capital was a signal of Russia's ambition to establish world hegemony.

Peter I focused his aggression and expansion on Europe. To consolidate Russia's position in the Baltic Sea, control eastern Europe and then to bide his time for invading western Europe, Peter I planned to annex Poland to Russia and seize the Balkans.

Asia was an important region in his aggression and expansion. He formulated the expansionist policies to conquer central Asia through occupying Caucasasia and then seize west Asia and India to gain a foothold in the Indian Ocean. He also cherished ambitions for the territory in China's northwest and northeast and planned to build Russian castles in the Heilongjiang River basin.

Wresting hegemony over the sea was an important part of his policy for seeking world hegemony. Every war he launched aimed clearly at seizing water areas. For example, his two wars against Turkey aimed at conquering the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, his war against Sweden aimed at conquering the Baltic Sea and his interference in Persia aimed at conquering the Caspian Sea. Peter I openly said, "When Russia can enter the Indian Ocean freely, it will be able to establish its military and political rule all over the world." (Quoted in "The Aggression and Expansion of Peter I" published in LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL STUDY] No 1, 1977) This showed that what he wanted to seize was not merely footholds but world hegemony on the sea.

This systematic policy of worldwide aggression formulated by Peter I at the beginning of the 18th century was pursued by the rulers of Russia after him. As Marx and Engels said, Peter I was "the founder of the policies of modern Russia" (Marx: "Inside Story of the Diplomatic History of the 18th Century," p 77) and he was an "emperor who directed his successors by his various aggressive policies." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, p 637)

3. Czarist Russia made up a series of expansionist theories.

Back in the reign of Vasily III (1505-1533), a high-ranking monk sent in a memorial, in which he said, "Moscow is the successor of the world's biggest capital, ancient Rome; the second Rome—Constantinople—was the first successor to Rome; Moscow is the third Rome and there will never be a fourth Rome." ("General History of the Soviet Union," edited by A. M. Panklatova, Vol 1, p 262) Throughout the empire of Russia the "superiority of the Slavic nations" was propagated and it was clamorously advocated that the great Russian nation was a particularly excellent nation of the first order and should have the power to lead other nations. Pan-Slavism, a variety of Russian chauvinism, described Russia as the representative and leader of all the Slavic nations and attempted to enforce on them Russia's reactionary political structure and backward social economic system. They spared no efforts in advocating the establishment, on the basis of the Russian empire, of a great Slavic empire that would stretch its territories to Europe, Asia and Africa, including in them the vast area "from the Nile to the Neva, from the Elbe to China, from the Volga to the Euphrates and from the Ganges to the Danube." (M. Peterovich, "The Emergence of Russian Pan-Slavism," English edition, p 241) This empire would consist of not only Slavic nations but also many non-Slavic nations. For according to the logic of Russian chauvinism, since those non-Slavic nations that inhabited areas in the neighborhood of the Slavic nations were mixed among areas inhabited by Slavic nations, their historic destiny was inseparably linked with Russia; therefore, they "must join the Pan-Slavic union." As for the areas of Asia Minor, the Ganges, the Euphrates and the Nile in Africa, though not inhabited by the Slavic nations, they should also be included in the territories of the empire because they were concerned with the "interests" and the "security" of the Russian chauvinists.

Czarist Russia called its bloody military conquests "seeking the protection of Russia" and "voluntary incorporation" by other nations. In order to propagate the reasonableness of its aggression and expansion, it concocted some other theses such as the so-called "common motherland," "preventing the expansion of other countries," "emancipating the people of other nations," "Russia's needs for coastal areas," "natural borders," "threats to the security of the empire" and "concerns with its interests."

4. Czarist Russia had a comprehensive series of aggressive and expansive methods and strategies.

In its struggle for hegemony, czarist Russia primarily relied upon its military forces—that is to say, by means of waging wars of naked aggression. From 1547 to 1917, it was engaged in 34 large-scale wars, nearly all of which were wars of foreign expansion that it launched. Moreover, backed with wars, it "exploited the contradictions of interests and greed among other powers to attain its goals and incited other powers to do each other in so that it could reap benefits in their confrontations without making any efforts, and so that it could carry out its aggressive policies more smoothly." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 19)

The focal point for czarist Russia's contention for hegemony was in Europe. For centuries, the targets of its attacks were: in the north, defeating Sweden and

seizing a foothold on the Baltic Sea; in the south, invading Turkey and seizing footholds on the Black Sea; and in the west, annexing Poland and seizing the long corridor of Europe. Primarily the czars adopted military means supplemented by diplomatic activities full of schemes and conspiracies. It craftily exploited their contradictions to unite some countries to fight against the others, suddenly turned Poland, Sweden and Turkey into its allies, and then suddenly turned them into its military enemies so as to attain its goals step by step.

In order to seize hegemony in Europe, czarist Russia tried in every possible way to exploit the conflicts between the European powers. During the French revolution and the rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, while England and France were constantly in conflict, czarist Russia allied six times with England against France and twice with France against England. It sometimes exploited the force of England and sometimes exploited that of France to strengthen its position in Europe and along with the complete collapse of Napoleon's empire, czarist Russia gradually gained its hegemony in Europe.

Under the pretext of preventing the further intensification of conflict or of providing "military aid," it sent troops to one of the parties that were engaged in war and put the "country that received its aid" under its control. In 1833, czarist Russia used the troops it had sent into Turkey to force Turkey to sign the unequal treaty of Hunar Iskelesi. According to the secret clauses in this treaty, Turkey affirmed that the Black Sea Straits were open to Russian warships, but were closed to those of any other countries. As a result, for a time the Black Sea became a Russian inland lake and Turkey was reduced to Russia's door-keeper.

Czarist Russia took advantage of the weakness of semicolonial China to force, by means of military occupation and threat and diplomatic blackmail, the Qing government to sign a series of unequal treaties, by which it stole more than 1.5 million square kilometers of Chinese territory. For example, in May 1858, taking the opportunity when the joint aggressive forces of England and France seized Tianjin and imperiled Beijing, czarist Russia sent troops directly toward Aihui and threatened China by saying that it was going to join England and France to fight against China and forced the Qing government to sign the unequal "Aihui Treaty." Then, less than half a month later, posing as a "mediator" between China and England and France, it played diplomatic tricks and lured and threatened China into signing another unequal treaty, the "Tianjin Treaty" before the English and French aggressors did. In fact, at that time czarist Russia did not have enough actual strength to back its aggression in the Far East; however, with the two unequal treaties it robbed China of more than 600,000 square kilometers of territory and gained some other privileges without shedding even a single drop of blood. Soon after the signing of the "Aihui Treaty," Marx pointed out that it enabled "Russia to get the richest area between the Tartar Strait and Lake Baykal." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, p 625) Engels pointed out, by the "Aihui Treaty," Russia "robbed from China a territory as big as the sum of those of France and Germany and a river as long as the Danube." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 12, p 662)

The aggressive activities of czarist Russia, its hegemonist policies, expansionist theses and aggressive methods and strategies formed a very obstinate force of historical tradition, which had its impact on and dominance over the foreign policies of czarist Russia's rulers in the past.

II

In 1917, the October Socialist Revolution led by Lenin overthrew the reactionary rule of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie in Russia, established a socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat and brought about a fundamental change in Russia's foreign policies. In both theory and practice, Lenin resolutely strived against Russia's historical tradition of contending for world hegemony. With resentment, he denounced czarist Russia's annexationist policies, pointing out, "in fact, it has been known throughout the world that the czarist government has oppressed more than 100 million people of other nationalities within the borders of Russia for decades, and it has also been for decades that Russia has been carrying out policies of robbery toward China, Persia, Armenia and Galicia." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 22, p 116) He solemnly declared: "We Russian workers and peasants will never retain by force any stretch of land that does not belong to great Russia, or any colony." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 25, p 40) On the second day after the victory of the October Revolution, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets approved the "peace decree" drafted by Lenin, in which opposing occupation of the territories of other countries, respecting the sovereignty of countries, national self-determination, equality and mutual benefits were adopted as the basic foreign policies of the Soviet Government and in which it was announced that all unequal treaties signed by Russia with other countries were abrogated.

On 18 December 1917, the people's committee promulgated its resolution on the independence of Finland. Time and again the Soviet Government issued announcements and declarations to China, denouncing czarist Russia's crimes in forcibly occupying the Chinese territories. In the announcement issued to China on 27 September 1920 it clearly announced: "All treaties signed by the Russian Government in the past are nullified. The Soviet Government surrenders all the Chinese territories robbed by Russia in the past and all the Russian concessions in the Chinese territory and returns gratuitously and forever to China anything that had been cruelly robbed from China by the czarist government and the Russian bourgeoisie." Because of the historical conditions at that time, Lenin's proletarian policies were not completely realized.

Lenin firmly held the view that all nations had the right to decide their own destiny and pointed out at the same time: "A proletariat cannot be a socialist proletariat if it allows its own nation to conduct the slightest violent activities against other nations." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 21, p 296) Lenin held that, from its beginning to the end, the communist cause of any nation was its own cause, and "communism could not be transplanted by force" (ibid., Vol 29, p 148), and that "consideration should be given to all the stages of development of other countries and never must Moscow order things around." (ibid., Vol 29, p 149)

Lenin steadfastly opposed Russian chauvinism and pointed out that it was "a thing to be disgusted to the utmost." (ibid., Vol 20, p 412) Time and again he warned the party that Russian chauvinism was displayed in the form of big power chauvinism in foreign relations, and if it was allowed to grow, it would lead to the repetition of the colonial policies of the czars and the betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Obviously, Lenin's theses and practices in foreign relations thoroughly broke away from the traditional policies of seeking world hegemony that had been pursued by czarist Russia for centuries.

After the death of Lenin, during the period under Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Union, on the whole, carried out a foreign policy in conformance with proletarian internationalism and made tremendous contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the world and to the struggle for world peace. However, later, Stalin began to sing one-sided praises to the great Russian nation and its culture and history, and made one-sided evaluations of Ivan IV and Peter I who vigorously conducted aggression and expansion and of the generals who won battles for czarist Russia. He criticized in writing Engels' well-known scientific work "The Foreign Policy of the Czarist Government of Russia" and unjustly found fault with Engels' "overestimate" of the reactionary role of the czars' policies. In this work, Engels most correctly pointed out, "every time the czarist government seized territory, used violence and carried out oppression, it was under the pretense of enlightening the people, of liberalism and of emancipating the people of other nations." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 26)

Due to his overemphasis on the role and interests of the great Russian nation, Stalin committed chauvinist mistakes in handling foreign relations. This had a marked negative impact on the Soviet foreign policies after him.

III

Khrushchev, and particularly the leading group headed by Brezhnev, have completely betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, continuously bullied other independent countries, interfered with them, controlled them, expanded into them, and carried out aggression against them, and thus they have been pursuing hegemonism all over the world. The only difference that can be found between them and the czars is that limited by its strength, czarist Russia mainly sought hegemony in Europe; Soviet hegemonists, however, because of pernicious expansion of its strength, aimed at establishing their hegemony over the whole world.

Now the focus of the global strategy of the Soviet hegemonists remains in Europe; they are more ambitious than czarist Russia and their aggressive hands are being stretched further out. The main content of their offensive strategy is as follows: To wrest overall military supremacy over the United States; to intensify the military pressure on its western front (Western Europe and the Mediterranean Sea) and on its eastern front (the Pacific Ocean, Japan and China), and to choose the main direction of their offensives on the south front (Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia) where the strength of the West is weak and the situation is turbulent. In order to link up the eastern and western fronts, thereby completing their encirclement of Europe, this offensive global strategy of the Soviet Union will inevitably make it the main source of war.

Under the pretense of protecting the "interests" and "safety" of the Soviet Union, the Soviet leading group has gone farther than czarist Russian imperialists in including diverse places in the world in its sphere of influence. They made a great hue and cry that "European affairs are an important part of Soviet foreign affairs.... The safety of the Soviet Union is inseparable from that of Europe." "The Mediterranean is an area closely connected with the southern areas of our country," and "we are certainly not guests on this sea." "The Near East is nearer to the Soviet Union than those countries that voiced the threat.... No one should overlook this." The Soviet Union "has the legitimate right to protect the safety of the Indian Ocean, for the Indian Ocean is the only direct waterway linking its European and Asian areas." The above are only a few of their allegations. Recently, it has been engaged in activities of penetration, subversion and sabotage and intensified its foreign aggression and expansion. By employing the Cuban mercenary troops to interfere in the internal affairs of African countries, by abetting and supporting the Vietnamese regional hegemonist activities including its invasion in Kampuchea and occupation of Laos, and finally by their flagrant direct military occupation of Afghanistan, a nonallied country in the Third World, the Soviet hegemonists have promoted their offensive strategy into a new stage.

The Soviet leading group does its utmost to advocate the reasonableness of its military interference in and aggression against other sovereign countries. The expansionists of czarist Russia did so in the guise of "Pan-Slavism," "emancipating the people of various nations," "Russia's protection being sought" and "voluntary mergence." However, the Soviet leading group has raised more tricky banners such as "exercising international duties," "safeguarding the socialist system" and "supporting national liberation struggles." Under the pretext of "internationalism" they have distorted patriotism, and alleged that "under the socialist system patriotism can be said to be breaking the bounds of national borders.... In a socialist country the word motherland has more than its traditional meaning of the single country one belongs to." They have also made a hue and cry that "the nature of borders has been changed.... Safeguarding the borders and defending the socialist motherland is no longer limited to the scope of the country itself and has become an undertaking of an international nature." They have used the pretext of defending the socialist system to carry out naked military conquest, and alleged, "militarily, the function of defending a socialist country contains much more content than the mere safeguarding of the national interests of a single country." Using the pretext of "supporting national liberation struggles," they have disguised themselves as the "natural friend and ally" of the Third World countries, and said that the Soviet Union was prepared to "guarantee their safety" at any time and by any means including military ones. They have openly declared that if the situation demands, the Soviet Union will still play in other regions of the world the old tricks that it played in its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in its forcible occupation of Afghanistan in 1979. Recently, the Soviet Union has continuously and wantonly interfered in the internal affairs of Poland, threatened that unless defended by the Soviet Union, there would be no guarantee to the "independence, sovereignty and borders" of Poland, and completed its military deployment for military interference in Poland at any time.

For many years, the Soviet Union has deployed a large number of troops near the Sino-Soviet border, which constitutes a serious threat to our country. It has

also been continuously engaged in activities of subversion and sabotage against our country. During the negotiations on the problems of Sino-Soviet borders, although our country did not ask them to return the approximately 1.5 million square kilometers of territory that was ceded to the Soviet Union in the past when we pointed out the unequal nature of the Sino-Russian treaties, the Soviet hegemonists not only denied the unequal nature of the Sino-Russian treaties and the fact that czarist Russia robbed great stretches of our country's territory, but also further delineated the borderline to incorporate into its territory the areas in our territory that had been wantonly occupied by czarist Russia and the Soviet Union and those they attempted to occupy. By so doing, the annexationist policy of the empire of czarist Russia was further developed to a frenzied extent.

Like czarist Russia, the Soviet hegemonists feel their lack of economic strength; therefore, they have been doing their best to turn the Soviet Union into a first-rate world military power, an enormous force that threatens countries all over the world. At present, in order to achieve its world hegemony, the Soviet Union has mainly adopted two means: The first is war--to conquer by war. Its concrete use of this means was reflected in its military conquest in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. The second is peace--to conquer without fighting a war. This is what it has become accustomed to saying--to gain the spoils of war without bloodshed. For this, the Soviet hegemonists still adopt the extremely tricky diplomacy backed by military strength which the czars in the past ingeniously adopted. They have been creating the impression of "detente" everywhere to numb and split world peace forces and have forced the West to compromise under unfavorable conditions, thus creating favorable conditions for them to stir up trouble and to launch local war and even world war.

From the above, we can see that the Soviet hegemonists have inherited the historical tradition of the czarist Russian empire for world hegemony, and the only difference is that they are painted in "socialist" red.

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ON COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S HISTORIC FEATS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 26-30, 36

[Article by Jia Chunfeng [6328 2504 1496]; passages enclosed in slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] After a great historical figure passes away, people usually like to evaluate the role he played throughout his life. Generally speaking, the greater his influence on the development of history, the wider and the more important the evaluation will be.

Comrade Mao Zedong's life was closely linked with whole development of our party and our People's Republic, with the liberation cause of the Chinese nation and people, and with our country's socialist cause. Being the main founder of our party, our people's army and our People's Republic, he led our party for more than 50 years and our People's Republic for nearly 30 years. Having gone through all kinds of hardships and obstacles, he scored earth-shaking brilliant victories in his life and performed great and magnificent and momentous feats in China's modern history, as well as in the history of the international communist movement. However, he made serious mistakes in his later years. Whether we can realistically, scientifically and comprehensively evaluate his theory and practice, his contributions and mistakes as well as his whole life from the Marxist stand and viewpoint, and using a Marxist method, is a question that receives serious attention from the whole party, the whole people and all revolutionary people in the world. This is because the evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong is not a matter concerning only one person, but a matter concerning the fundamental interests of our party, our state and the whole people, a matter concerning the correct attitude toward historical facts and toward summing up historical experience, and a matter concerning the future of our socialist cause, which the people in our country are making common efforts to strive for.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee earnestly and scientifically evaluates the historical role played by Comrade Mao Zedong. This was expected by the people and required by history. The resolution points out: "Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. It is true that he made gross mistakes during the 'Cultural Revolution,' but, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary. He rendered indelible meritorious

service in founding and building up our party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, in winning victory for the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people, in founding the PRC and in advancing our socialist cause. He made major contributions to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world and to the progress of mankind." This evaluation is an expression of our party's serious Marxist attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's merits and mistakes and its high sense of responsibility toward history and the people. This is also a brilliant example for us in summing up historical experience and appraising historical figures from the viewpoint and method of dialectical materialism and historical materialism.

It was on the basis of historical practice and the numerous historical facts that the resolution affirmed the great contributions of Comrade Mao Zedong.

Our party is a product of the combination of Marxism and the workers' movement in China. It was born under the influence of the Russian October Revolution and the "4 May" movement in our country, and with the help of the Communist International led by Lenin. The birth of the CCP enabled the disaster-ridden Chinese people to see a bright future. From then on, our party has led the Chinese people in their struggle to conquer innumerable hardships and difficulties. The revolutionary forces developed from weak to strong and the revolutionary organizations, from small to big. They finally defeated the reactionaries maintained by the imperialists, which had been the most powerful in modern Chinese history, and turned the old China which had been enslaved and trampled upon by foreign invaders for more than a century into an independent new China which was free from any foreign control and played an important and active role in world affairs. The Chinese people have stood up since then and become masters of society who hold their destiny in their own hands. This was an earth-shaking change in China's society and a fundamental change in Chinese history of thousands of years.

Undoubtedly, the great victory of the new democratic revolution in our country and the founding of the PRC was a result of the long-term heroic struggle of the countless revolutionary martyrs as well as the comrades of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. We cannot, and should not, owe all our achievements to the revolutionary leaders, but at the same time, we cannot and should not deny the important role they have played. Among the many outstanding leaders of our party, Comrade Mao Zedong occupied the most prominent position.

When appraising Marx, Engels said: "Marx stood on a higher plane, saw farther and was quicker and better in observing things than all of us." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 238) In our party's career of leading the people in seizing the state power and in the long-term struggle for the founding of a people's republic, and in the practice of establishing the socialist social system in our country, Comrade Mao Zedong displayed his sagacious and outstanding ability in leadership at every critical juncture of the revolution or turning point of history, which was characterized by standing on a high plane, seeing far, making resolute decisions, and with unswerving determination, putting them into action.

/Comrade Mao Zedong was one of the founders of our party./ As early as before the "4 May" movement, he began to form revolutionary organizations in Hunan, and

in 1920, he formed an organization to study Marxism and founded the Socialist Youth League. He attended the party's first national congress as a representative from Hunan's party organizations. As Comrade Mao Zedong took root among the workers and peasants, he knew the actual conditions of Chinese society and the suffering, wishes and feelings of the laboring people better than the other participants of the "first national congress." Before and after the founding of the party, Comrade Mao Zedong made great and fruitful efforts for spreading Marxism in China and for combining Marxist theory with the workers' movement, from 1924 to 1927, together with other leaders of the party, he helped to promote the reorganization of the KMT, and on this basis, an extensive united front was formed to oppose both imperialism and the warlords, and a mighty revolutionary movement was initiated. He made great efforts to apply the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism in analyzing China's social conditions and the characteristics of the Chinese revolution and pointed out the vital importance of the leadership of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance in the Chinese revolution. Both in theory and in practice, Comrade Mao Zedong fought bravely against Chen Duxiu's right capitulationism.

/Comrade Mao Zedong was the most outstanding representative who opened a new path for the Chinese revolution in light of China's specific conditions, namely, encircling the cities from the rural areas and then taking them over./ In 1919, Lenin issued a call to the communists of the Eastern nationalities: "You are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval remnants and not against capitalism." He also said that the solution of the problems could not be found in any communist books, but you must "solve it through your own independent experience." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 30, pp 138-139) The failure of the revolution in 1927 showed that our party was unable to solve this historical task correctly at that time. However, this task was correctly and successfully solved during the decade of the agrarian revolutionary war by the Marxists in our party with Comrade Mao Zedong as their outstanding representative. After the failure in 1927, China was thrown into darkness. In order to save the Chinese revolution, our party began to establish the people's army and the revolutionary basis, and to wage the agrarian revolution so as to fight against the KMT reactionary rule through armed struggle. The Nanchang uprising led by Comrade Zhou Enlai and other comrades marked the beginning of this armed revolt against the KMT reactionaries. At the "7 August" meeting, a policy was laid down for the agrarian revolution and the armed struggle. Soon after the meeting was over, Comrade Mao Zedong went to the boundary areas between Jiangxi and Hunan Provinces and led an uprising of armed peasants and workers. At the same time, he founded the first division of the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolutionary army. In October the same year, Comrade Mao Zedong led the forces to the Jinggang Mountains and established the worker-peasant government in the Hunan-Jiangxi border region. After repulsing several enemy assaults, the first rural revolutionary base was established, and after that, the focal point of the party's work was transferred from the cities to the countryside, to the development of the rural revolutionary forces. Later, the remaining contingents of the Nanchang Uprising led by Comrade Zhu De also came to the Jinggang Mountains to

join them. From the establishment of the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base, many communists and revolutionary masses saw the orientation and future of the Chinese revolution and had more confidence in it under the perilous condition since the failure of the great revolution. The founding and development of the Jinggang Mountain base was an important and inspiring example for other bases successively founded by our party, such as, the western Hunan-Hubei, the Haifeng-Lufeng, the Hubei-Henan-Anhui, the Qiongya, the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, the Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, the Hunan-Jiangxi, the Zuojiang-Youjiang, the Sichuan-Shaanxi, the Shaanxi-Gansu, the Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou and other base areas. In 1929, the Red Army led by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De marched toward the south of Jiangxi and the west of Fujian and established the central revolutionary base with Ruijin in Jiangxi as the center. Along with the development of the revolutionary struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong also expounded in theory two fundamental questions of the Chinese revolution: Why was it possible to develop the war of the Red Army and to establish rural bases, and why were they the main component parts of the Chinese revolution? Thus, Comrade Mao Zedong opened up a new path for the Chinese revolution both in practice and in theory, which was different from the October Revolution in Russia, that is, to encircle the cities, which were occupied by counterrevolutionaries, from the rural areas and then capture them through armed revolution. The development of the Chinese revolution in the following two decades proved that this was the only correct road for the emancipation of the proletariat and the broad masses of people in China.

/Comrade Mao Zedong's correct ideas which were adopted by the Zunyi meeting saved the Red Army, the party and the Chinese revolution at the critical juncture./

the course of our revolution, it was not plain sailing for our party to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution in light of the specific conditions of our country. We have done it at great cost. In the late 1920's and early 1930's, an erroneous tendency of making Marxism a dogma and deifying Comintern resolutions and the experience of the USSR prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party which pushed the Chinese revolution to the brink of total failure. From January 1931 to January 1935, Wang Ming's leftist adventurism occupied the dominant position in our party. Under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong's correct decisions and strategy and tactics, the Red Army defeated a number of "encirclement and suppression" campaigns launched by Chiang Kai-shek's KMT reactionaries against the central Soviet area in Jiangxi. But because of Wang Ming's "leftist" errors which repelled Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership, the Red Army's struggle against the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign ended in failure, and the Red Army was forced to embark on the Long March. As a result of Wang Ming's "leftist" adventurism, the revolution sustained enormous losses: the whole central revolutionary base area and 90 percent of the base areas in other parts of the country were lost and almost all of the party organizations in the White area were destroyed. At the beginning of the Long March, Wang Ming's "leftist" adventurist leadership continued to exercise influence on military actions and the Red Army, which was intercepted in front and pursued from behind by the enemy, was pushed to dire peril several times and sustained serious losses. Mao Zedong and other comrades resolutely opposed Wang Ming's errors. At the same time, many cadres and party members were suspicious and resentful of this erroneous leadership. It was under such a situation that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee convened an enlarged meeting in Zunyi in January 1935, which rectified, with

concentrated efforts, the vital mistakes in military and organizational affairs, put an end to the "leftist" erroneous leadership and established the leading position of Comrade Mao Zedong in the Red Army and the Central Committee of the party. This saved our party and the Red Army which were then in mortal danger and subsequently made it possible to defeat Zhang Guotao's splittism, bring the Long March to a triumphant conclusion and open up new vistas for the Chinese revolution. This fact vividly shows that it was a result of learning from both positive and negative experiences by the whole party and the whole army that Comrade Mao Zedong was elected leader of the party and commander of the army. It was also a vivid expression of the great historical role the revolutionary leader played in uniting the whole party and the whole army, and in saving the revolution when it was in mortal danger.

/Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, our party carried out the correct policy of forming an anti-Japanese national united front, peacefully settled the Xian incident and led the Chinese nation and the Chinese people in the national revolutionary war against Japanese aggression. After the 8 years of bloody battles, we finally won the great victory in the war of resistance against Japan./ At the time of national crisis of unparalleled gravity when the Japanese imperialists were intensifying their aggression against China, the KMT north-eastern army commanded by Zhang Xueliang and the 17th Route Army commanded by Yang Hucheng, influenced by our party's policy of forming the national united front to fight against Japanese aggression, requested Chiang Kai-shek to ally with the CCP in fighting against Japan. In December 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek went to Xian to make Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng suppress the mass movement of resisting Japan and saving the nation, and to coerce them into attacking the Red Army, he was arrested by the two generals. This was the well-known "Xian incident." After the outbreak of this incident, the pro-Japanese elements within the KMT represented by Wang Jingwei and He Yingqin were ready to make new troubles, trying to provoke a civil war, while in our party, Zhang Guotao, putting on an extremely "left" front, raised such erroneous propositions as to "kill Chiang Kai-shek" and to "fight our way out of the Tongguan Pass." What policy should our party adopt in such a complicated and tense situation? After careful consideration of the overall situation, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong saw through the scheme of the KMT pro-Japanese elements and simultaneously negated the erroneous propositions within the party. It adopted the only correct policy and sent Comrade Zhou Enlai to Xian as a mediator. Thus, the Xian incident was settled by peaceful means and Chiang Kai-shek was forced to consent to the proposal to halt the civil war and cooperate in resisting Japanese aggression. The peaceful settlement of the Xian incident and the successful formation of the anti-Japanese national united front was powerful evidence of Comrade Mao Zedong's exceptional leadership art characterized by his having a profound Marxist insight into historical events at great turning points when the situation changed swiftly or when the party was confronted with an entirely different task, and by his ability to grasp the key link in all of political life and unify firm principles with flexible tactics. During the following 8 years of anti-Japanese war, our party, led by the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, established and developed the anti-Japanese national united front. At the same time, it persevered in the policy of maintaining its independence and leadership within the united front, and criticized Wang Ming's new capitulationism which yielded to Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT and

gave up the leadership of the proletariat. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, our party established broad anti-Japanese base areas, developed and expanded the 8th Route Army, the new 4th Army and the people's armed forces. To us, the people's army led by our party became the main force in resisting Japanese aggressors and their puppet troops. During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong also led our party to wage the great rectification movement within the party. On the basis of this fruitful Marxist ideological education movement, the "resolution on certain questions in the history of our party" was adopted by the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee and, soon afterwards, the 7th national congress of our party was held. The party constitution adopted by this congress clearly stipulates: "Mao Zedong Thought, which is an integration of Marxist-Leninist theory and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, is the guide for all our work." Comrade Liu Shaoqi made a very important exposition on this point in his report on revising the party constitution. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, the party's seventh congress laid down the correct line, policies and principles for building a new democratic new China, enabling the party to attain an unprecedented ideological, political and organizational unity and solidarity. Thus, the final victory of the new democratic revolution was guaranteed.

/The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong made a sober estimate of the internal and external situations after the conclusion of the war of resistance against Japan. It independently and resolutely decided to fight a decisive battle against Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT, and won the great victory in the people's liberation war./ After the victory in the war of resistance against Japan, the Chiang Kai-shek government, with the aid of U.S. imperialism, attempted in vain to wipe out the people's army and the liberated areas led by our party. The Chinese people were facing two prospects: a bright new China or a dark old China. At this moment, Stalin, who had given great support to the Chinese revolution, told our party to surrender our people's forces and reorganize them into a national defense army, and at the same time, organize a coalition government with the KMT. Comrade Mao Zedong insisted on the policy of waging a tit-for-tat struggle against Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT, refusing to lay down arms. He firmly believed that by relying on our own efforts, the attacks by all reactionaries, domestic or foreign, could be defeated. Guided by his correct military line and strategic and tactical principles, we wiped out a total of 8 million Chiang Kai-shek troops in barely more than 3 years, liberated the mainland of China and established the PRC with the people as the masters. At the historical juncture when the decisive battle of China's two fates was fought after the victory of the anti-Japanese war, the boldness of vision, the resoluteness, the willpower and wisdom of a great proletarian revolutionary and strategist displayed by Comrade Mao Zedong can be summed up in Engels' words when he appraised Marx: He "stood high and saw far, and whenever prompt action was necessary, he made a correct decision and hit home." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 449-450)

/The party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong guided the people in theory and led them in practice in the transition from new-democratism to socialism. It successfully established the socialist system in our country, a big Eastern country with backward economy and culture, and scored great achievements in the socialist construction./ In the first 3 years after the founding of

the People's Republic, while leading us to eliminate the remnant forces of the KMT reactionaries, to carry out the land reform, the movement to suppress the counter-revolutionaries and the movements against "three evils" and "five evils," Comrade Mao Zedong also led us to rehabilitate the national economy, which had been seriously destroyed under the corrupt KMT's rule and in the years of war. By the end of 1952, the agricultural production of our country topped the historical records. When the work of rehabilitating the national economy was nearly finished, the party Central Committee adopted Comrade Mao Zedong's proposal and put forth the general line for the transition period, that is, to gradually realize the socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of China's agriculture, handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce over a rather long period of time. This general line reflected the objective demand of the social development in our country at that period of time and expressed the fundamental interests of the people. In practicing this general line, Comrade Mao Zedong made extensive and deepgoing social investigations and, in accordance with the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism and in the light of China's specific conditions, he led our party in creatively charting a course for socialist transformation that suited China's specific conditions. In dealing with capitalist industry and commerce, we devised a whole series of transitional forms of state capitalism from lower to higher levels, such as the placing of state orders with private enterprises for the processing of materials or the manufacture of goods, state monopoly of the purchase and marketing of the products of private enterprises, the marketing of products of state-owned enterprises by private shops, and joint state-private ownership of individual enterprises or enterprises of a whole trade, and we successfully fulfilled the historical mission of transforming a capitalist economy without shocking the society and eventually realized the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie, a possibility envisaged by Marx and Lenin. In dealing with individual farming, we devised transitional forms of cooperation, proceeding from temporary or all-the-year-round mutual aid teams, to elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives of a fully socialist nature, always adhering to the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit, demonstration through advanced examples, and extension of state help. In this way, we realized the collectivization of agriculture and enabled hundreds of millions of peasants in our country to advance on the socialist road of sharing joys together. In the transformation of individual handicrafts, similar measures were adopted. In most parts of the country, the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production was basically completed in 1956. It was an irreversible and inexorable trend in the development of our society after the founding of the PRC that the private ownership was substituted by the socialist public ownership and that the principle of "to each according to his work" was preliminarily carried out. This was the premise of our overall socialist construction and opened up a bright and unparalleled prospect for the Chinese people of all nationalities.

/Comrade Mao Zedong made great contributions in theory by integrating the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with China's reality./ In line with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and by summing up a series of specific experiences in the practice of the long-term revolution in China, he brought into being a scientific guiding ideology suitable for China's conditions; that is, Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought was the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutionary practice in China, a big country with several hundred million people. It was a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the

CCP. Many outstanding leaders of our party made great contributions to its formation and development, and it was synthesized by Comrade Mao Zedong, hence it was thus named Mao Zedong Thought. The creative theoretical activities of Comrade Mao Zedong enriched the treasurehouse of Marxist-Leninist theories. In his long-term revolutionary practice, Comrade Mao Zedong nurtured and educated generations of party members, cadres, PLA commanders and fighters, revolutionary youths as well as the broad masses of people with the scientific ideology and revolutionary work style of integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with the revolutionary practice in China, and with the world outlook and method of dialectical and historical materialism. This is a very important matter.

Of course, what is mentioned above does not give a detailed explanation of Comrade Mao Zedong's magnificent contributions to the liberation and the socialist cause of the Chinese people. However, from what was mentioned about the important role he played theoretically and practically in the Chinese revolution at important historical junctures, especially at the critical junctures of the revolution, we can see that the affirmation of Comrade Mao Zedong's contributions in the resolution is fair and honest, and is in conformity with historical facts. On 21 August 1980, in his talk with the Italian reporter Oriana Falaci Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Although Chairman Mao made some mistakes in the past, he was still the main founder of the CCP and the PRC. In view of his merits and errors, the latter is at any rate secondary. What he did for the Chinese people can in no way be denied. As for the feelings of the Chinese people, we will commemorate him forever as the founder of our party and state."

He also said: Chairman Mao "saved the party and the state many times from desperate situations. Without the leadership of Chairman Mao, the Chinese people might have to grope in the dark for a longer time." What Comrade Deng Xiaoping said was a reflection of the feelings of the party members, army men and the whole people. It was also an important ideological preparation for the scientific evaluation of Comrade Mao Zedong in the resolution.

Twenty-five years ago, in his article "In Commemoration of Dr Sun Yat-sen," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Like many great figures in history who stood in the forefront at guiding the march of events, Dr Sun, too, had his shortcomings. These shortcomings should be explained in the light of the historical conditions so that people can understand; we should not be too critical of our predecessors." The correct Marxist attitude Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out here with regard to the shortcomings of great historical figures is also applicable for us today in viewing Comrade Mao Zedong's shortcomings and mistakes. Though he made serious mistakes in the revolutionary activities in his later years, being a giant in the history of modern China, Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions will be recorded in history in indelible letters of gold. His outstanding contributions are an inspiration for us in our further advance. Simultaneously, the enlightenment and lessons we draw from his mistakes are also our precious wealth. Our people of all nationalities and our sons and grandsons in the coming generations will forever commemorate him and resolutely carry through to the end the cause pioneered by Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generations. On our continuous march toward the great goal in the future, the name of Comrade Mao Zedong will always impel us forward, and the banner of Mao Zedong Thought will always be our banner of victory.

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THE 3D PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS A GREAT TURNING POINT
IN THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC

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[Article by Zheng Hui [6774 1920]]

[Text]

I

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, as a great turning point in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC, has already been fully affirmed in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." This act has not only embodied the common will of the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country, but also reflected the real image that our party has been advancing. To conscientiously study the exposition in the resolution on this question and understand the far-reaching influence of the third plenary session on the history of our party are of great significance to carrying out a whole series of guidelines and policies worked out by the party's Central Committee since the third plenary session and pushing ahead with the construction of the case of socialist modernization.

A brief analysis has been made in the resolution on the basic circumstances of the party's leadership work during the 2 years before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. In October 1976, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee implemented the will of the party and the people in crushing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and putting an end to the turbulence of the "Great Cultural Revolution," thus rescuing the party from dire peril, saving the revolution and bringing our country into a new historical period of development. However, during the 2 years between then and the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party and country kept hesitating to progress. Such a situation was on one hand due to the political and ideological confusion which, brought about by the 10-year turbulence of the "Great Cultural Revolution," could hardly be eliminated in a short period of time; and on the other to the leftist mistakes in guiding ideology made by Comrade Hua Guofeng, chairman of the CCP Central Committee, at that time. A full and fair appraisal has been made in the resolution on Comrade Hua Guofeng's work during the period.

Although the party and the country made some progress in those 2 years, it can be seen that the party's leadership work always lagged behind the masses' needs of correcting the party's historical mistakes and opening up new prospects in its work. At that time, in the rectification and restoration in various fields, a

lot of comrades, inside or outside the party, recognizing the mistakes made during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the faults of Comrade Mao Zedong, from different angles and to different extents, called more and more eagerly for a solution and correction. In the meantime, they also looked forward to the restoration of certain correct guidelines and policies, and of some fine traditional work styles of the party. In other words, they asked for conscientiously setting to rights things which had been thrown into disorder. In the spring of 1977, such a demand was concentratedly displayed in two events, one was the rehabilitation of the "Tiananmen incident" and the other was the petition for Deng Xiaoping to resume work as soon as possible. This demand expressed itself later in other problems such as the discussion on the question of practice being the sole criterion for truth and the request for old cadres to resume their work, and so on. But, these reasonable demands from cadres and the masses were never satisfied; and on the contrary, encountered serious suppression and obstruction. At the same time, those mistakes such as the personality cult which had been in vogue during the "Great Cultural Revolution," were flourishing again. These abnormal phenomena, which did not vanish until the end of 1978, harmed the masses' enthusiasm, which was then running high and therefore prevented a lot of tasks from being accomplished promptly.

Facing such a situation full of obstacles, a lot of farsighted comrades were extremely worried about how to keep the party and the revolutionary cause advancing healthily. Many old comrades inside the party devoted great efforts to turn the situation around. To oppose the wrong tendency of treating Mao Zedong Thought with a book-worship mentality, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth in the spring of 1977 the question of guiding the party, the army and the people throughout the country with the precise and complete Mao Zedong Thought. In June 1978, in affirming and supporting the discussion on the question of criteria for truth, he pointed out again at a political work meeting of the army, that the basic principle of Mao Zedong Thought is the practical and realistic attitude. Comrade Chen Yun expounded his important opinions on the enhancement of democracy, the reappraisal of the achievements and errors of the party's important leaders, and the formulation of the new economic plan. Comrade Hu Yaobang did a great deal of substantial work and struggled arduously for emancipating the party members' minds, redressing mishandled cases and pushing the resumption of old cadres' posts. The broad masses of party members and cadres also made a lot of contributions in removing by various means the obstacles lying on the road of advance. All these factors joined to lay a foundation for the successful convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee.

In December 1978, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was convened. The resolution briefly summed up certain important decisions made at the plenary session on ideology, politics and organization. This meant that our party began to reorient fundamentally the longstanding wrong leftist direction of guiding ideology and set up again the line of Marxism. At the plenary session, many major leading cadres and revolutionaries of the old generation of the party gave pertinent criticisms and suggestions, concentrating attention on the faults in the work of the previous 2 years, the question of formulating certain important guidelines and policies, and the restoration of the party's fine traditions. They played an essential role at the critical moment in the new process of history. The calls for setting to right things which had been thrown into disorder

and for restoring stability and unity to concentrate all efforts on carrying on the construction of socialist modernization have been becoming a powerful historical trend which is irresistible, since the downfall of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. It is in following this historical trend that the third plenary session implemented the important reform in the party's leadership work. Therefore, this is a great turning point in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC. Its far-reaching significance will become more and more apparent as time passes.

II

At the third plenary session, our party's general guideline was put forth which advocated emancipating the mind, using the brain, being practical and realistic, uniting as one and adopting a forward-looking attitude. The core of this guideline is to redress comprehensively the party's leftist mistakes in various fields of politics, economics, culture, and so on, to uphold the four basic principles, to rally the whole party and the people throughout the country and to concentrate all efforts for the construction of socialist modernization, on the basis that the political line of dialectical materialism was restored. To redress the political line is the basis for redressing all guidelines, policies and leadership methods of the party. Therefore, the proposal of and adherence to the principle of emancipation of the mind is the most fundamental redressing measure since the third plenary session.

During the protracted, arduous struggles of the Chinese revolution, our party has shaped a political line of dialectical materialism. That is, to proceed from reality in all cases, seek truth from facts and integrate theory with practice. In other words, to combine the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. As a fine tradition which was always advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong and formed by our party during the Yanan rectification period, this political line of seeking truth from facts is the soul of Mao Zedong Thought. It ensured that our party was able to correctly judge the situation in the complex revolutionary struggles, formulate guidelines and policies, solve different real problems, and achieve great successes in the revolution and construction. However, our party's leadership was divorced from this fine tradition in the late 1950's and in particular during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," as the boastful subjectivist style and the dogmatic practices of blindly duplicating the works of Marx and Lenin and the speeches of Comrade Mao Zedong were then developed. Such dogmatism, combined with the personality cult of Comrade Mao Zedong, seriously harmed the people's ideological life and the party's practical work. In raising the guideline of emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has taken up restoring and developing the fine tradition which had been abandoned for years. This is indeed a matter of vital importance to the future of our party and country, and to the destiny of the socialist cause.

Under the direction of the guideline of emancipating the mind, the whole ideological outlook and work style of our party are undergoing a thorough and healthy change. The vast number of cadres and the broad masses who have been freed from the spiritual yoke of the personality cult and dogmatism which prevailed in the past, are enjoying a widespread ease of mind which has been absent for years. As

the ideological atmosphere has been enlivened outside and inside the party, a moving scene of studying the new circumstances to solve new problems has been emerging. However, some wrong tendencies and ideological trends have also been witnessed in the course of change. Some people who could not completely cast off the evil influence of longstanding leftist mistakes may easily evaluate new things and policies with their own convictions and therefore question the correctness of the party's direction. Whereas others, in criticizing past mistakes, even go so far as to doubt or negate the basic principles, realities and achievements of socialism. Although these are only minor aspects in the great historical mainstream, they should not be neglected.

In coping with problems emerging in the ideological and political fields, the party has done a lot of work for the proper implementation of the principle of emancipating the mind. In particular, the party reiterated soon after the third plenary session the guideline of upholding the four basic principles, that is, upholding the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, the CCP's leadership, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This important principle, which embodies the spirit of the third plenary session, is totally consistent with the party's guiding principle of emancipating the mind. This principle means keeping our thinking consistent with reality, and advocating an attitude of seeking truth from facts. All wrong thinking which distorts and negates the four basic principles from the leftist or rightist viewpoint is unrealistic and contrary to the principle of seeking truth from facts. As a worldwide historical movement, socialism has already developed for a century and several decades so far. Some of the basic socialist principles have already been defined quite clearly. The basic realities and achievements of the socialist construction in our country since the founding of the PRC are also very obvious objective facts. Ignoring and negating all these will not only result in serious political consequences but also the severest ideological subjectivism. This is not at all what the emancipation of the mind aims at but exactly what it is to overcome and oppose. Undoubtedly, the zigzags in the road to advance of the socialist movement show that there still are a lot of realms of necessity remaining unexplored, which gives us the task of developing scientific socialist theory, making more discoveries and creations in closely integrating theory with practice. The upholding of the four basic principles is not intended to confine the in-depth inquiry into a great number of new problems emerging in the socialist movement but to give it a correct orientation and a broad perspective.

Since the third plenary session, the party has deliberated on certain important questions of theory, guidelines and policies, and arrived at a new correct conclusion. This is a great success our party has achieved in upholding the guideline of emancipating the mind; for example, the question of accurately estimating the major contradictions in socialist society, that of correctly analyzing and handling sociopolitical contradictions of different natures, the strategic shift of the focal point of work, the formulation of the guidelines of carrying on socialist construction according to our national condition, the strengthening of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, the reform of the leadership systems of the party and the state, and so on. Out of these, the scientific analysis on the major contradictions and the situation of class struggle in our society has helped to redress the past subjectivist and leftist guiding ideology, and in enormously enriching and developing the estimation made at the "eighth

national congress of the CCP." Being the basis for working out various guidelines and policies of the party in the future, it is of vital significance. The resolution adopted at the sixth plenary session, which has comprehensively and systematically summed up these achievements, is an important development of Marxism under the new historical conditions. From now on, we still have to vigorously strengthen the study of basic Marxist theory and the research into the social sciences, unremittingly adjusting, substantiating and amplifying the present guidelines and principles, and applying new theoretical results to guide and promote new social practices.

III

Since the third plenary session, the economic construction under the leadership of the party has also undergone important and fundamental changes.

First of all, the third plenary session put forth the guideline of shifting the party's focal point of work to the construction of socialist modernization. This guideline is the fundamental conclusion summed up from the historical experiences over a long period of time since the founding of the PRC. In the final analysis, it is all the achievements our party accomplished since the founding of the PRC that have created the sociopolitical conditions and fair material basis necessary for the construction of socialist modernization. The serious mistakes our party made were due to the fact that we did not enforce firmly and persistently the strategic shift of the focal point of work to economic construction for a long period after the basic completion of socialist transformation. Although the "eighth national congress of the CCP" correctly raised this task, the guideline of strategic shift failed to be upheld all the way later due to the change in the estimation of the major contradictions within the country and the repeated promotion of political movements. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," since political struggles pounded against and were substituted for everything, and the so-called "theory that social development results only from productive forces" was criticized, the normal development of the national economy was severely fouled up. Historical experience has already clearly shows that the consolidation and strengthening of the country, the stability and prosperity of society and the improvement of the people's material and cultural life do after all depend on the development of social productivity and the achievement of economic construction. We have suffered formidable failure as the party did not realize sufficiently the extreme importance of this question in the past. At the third plenary session, the guideline of shifting the party's focal point of work was raised anew, which embodied the people's fundamental interest and reflected the objective needs of social development. This is indeed the most important step in the great turn in the course of events.

Furthermore the third plenary session also pointed out the need to pay attention to comprehensive balance in economic construction. After the plenary session, the party began to implement the guideline of "readjusting, reforming, rectifying and improving" to the whole national economy. The facts have proved that the putting forth and further carrying out of the "eight-character policy" was not only a very timely and necessary step for changing the longstanding (including the last 2 years) serious imbalance in the major proportionate relations of the national economy and the difficult and passive situation, but also an effective

act for thoroughly clearing up the related leftist mistakes made in the past and bringing economic construction onto the correct track.

In the last 2 years or more, in redressing the guiding ideology for economic construction, the party's central authorities have deeply recognized that the root of those leftist mistakes committed in the past, including those made because of being too anxious in striving to entirely change the backward face of our country within a short period of time, lies in the fact that we have exceeded objective possibility, and become divorced from our national conditions. Although the party has achieved considerable success and accumulated quite rich experience since the founding of the PRC in leading socialist economic construction, the backward state of society, the economy and culture in our country has not yet been able to be changed fundamentally. Although our country possesses rich natural resources and great reserves of labor power, much of them are waiting to be rationally explored and utilized in order to produce utility. As 800 million out of the 1 billion population in our country are peasants, agriculture, which mainly depends on manual labor, still accounts for a very large proportion of the national economy: For a long period of time in the past, we lacked the sufficient conditions and experience for promoting international economic cooperation and technological exchanges. But now, some favorable new factors for these activities are available at home and abroad. We must work out the guidelines and policies for developing the construction of modernization, based on the in-depth analysis of the favorable and unfavorable conditions. Our economic construction must fit our national conditions and be consistent with the economic and natural laws. We should move step by step and according to our capability, in seeking for substantial results through scientific deliberation and thus enable different economic sectors to develop proportionately and harmoniously, while closely integrating production development with the improvement of the people's livelihood. We must actively promote international economic cooperation and technological exchanges in upholding the principle of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, and reconstructing through our own efforts. Under the guidance of these principles our economic work has already achieved fair success; and a bright prospect of economic development can be seen through some important achievements indicated in the resolution.

We have experienced two great strategic shifts in the history of our party's struggles, one is the shifting of the struggle front from cities to rural areas, and the other vice versa. We achieved great successes in both cases though we encountered formidable difficulties. The key to success was that our party, clearly knowing the national condition of China, found a correct revolutionary road which conformed with reality. Now, our party is carrying out another great strategic shift which makes the economic construction its central task. Honestly speaking, the tasks of the present shift are more complicated and arduous than those of the last two shifts. And the key to success for it still lies in how well acquainted we are with the national condition of China and whether we can find a road for constructing socialist modernization which conforms with reality. After years of arduous and tortuous struggles, our party has eventually been awakened and gradually formulated a correct line. Although we remain quite weak in dealing with these matters since we were not sufficiently prepared for economic work for a long time, we will surely achieve once again great successes in the construction of modernization, just as we did during the revolutionary periods

in the past, if only we can conscientiously study and work hard in the correct direction.

IV

Since the third plenary session, our party has taken a lot of care to solve many social political problems. It is in handling these problems that the party learned a profound lesson from the past leftist mistakes committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." In fact, class struggle is no longer the major contradiction in our society since the basic completion of socialist transformation. In the meantime, a great number of sociopolitical contradictions which are outside the realm of class struggle are becoming more and more prominent and need to be solved in the light of new experiences which remain to be accumulated and created. In the past, our party generally recognized that we lacked experience in leading large-scale economic construction, but never thought that we also lacked experience in handling the new sociopolitical contradictions. Facing various social contradictions under the new historical conditions, the party's leaders either exaggerated the class struggle elements embodied in the new social contradictions, or equated them to the class struggle in the past, or even simply treated those social contradictions which are totally outside the realm of class struggle in the same way as they treated class struggle problems. So, we obscured the demarcation line between social contradictions of different natures and hence made mistakes in magnifying the class struggle. In particular, by continuing to use the old method of large-scale turbulent mass struggle or even adopting some methods that produced social disorder, we messed up a great number of inner-party contradictions and contradictions among the people, changing their original nature, and thus brought about the heart-breaking disaster of the "Great Cultural Revolution" which lasted for 10 years.

Drawing lessons from these experiences, the party has redefined the guideline which requires properly estimating and handling different sociopolitical contradictions existing at the present stage in our country. It has also made an analysis of the fundamental change in the status of social classes in our country in the 20-odd years since the overall establishment of the socialist system and of the significant changes caused thereby in the major contradictions of society and the situation of class struggle. The party pointed out that, after the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, a special type of class struggle would still remain. Although such a class struggle no longer occupies a dominant place, it will be existing for a long time within a certain limit and could possibly become acute under certain conditions. We must keep highly alert and struggle effectively against all destructive activities by those elements who are hostile to socialism. At the same time, we must correctly understand different sociopolitical contradictions which are outside the realm of class struggle and exist extensively inside the society of our country. Such contradictions, which should and certainly can be solved through the rational adjustment of interests, using normal ideological and political methods, and by developing socialist democracy and amplifying the socialist legal system, should never be dealt with in the same way as the "Great Cultural Revolution" which ignored the legal system, adopted the form of so-called mass class struggle and therefore produced social turbulence. This is a bitter historical lesson for which we have paid an enormous price. The resolution, which has made a profound analysis on this question, is an important

ideological guide for our socialist construction in the future. Only if the party and the people reach such a common general understanding and implement it in actual practice can we carry out various socialist construction and reform works step by step and in a guided and orderly way under the social condition of longstanding stability, and thus make enormous social progress.

As cited in the resolution, in the last 2 years or so, in properly handling in the light of the above-mentioned guiding ideology a great deal of sociopolitical problems left over from history or that emerged from the new circumstances, our party has strengthened the construction of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system. With all those measures, the people's rights have been assured, criminal activities have been suppressed, social order has been maintained and thus big advances have been made in consolidating and developing the political situation of stability, unity and liveliness in our country. It is unavoidable that some phenomena of extreme democratization, absolute liberalization and anarchism will emerge in the course of change. At the sight of these phenomena, some comrades felt that it was better to revert to the old road of "taking class struggle as the key link" and therefore doubted the need to emphasize socialist democracy. It is evident that both these tendencies are wrong and pernicious.

In firmly enforcing the principle of developing socialist democracy, the party has clearly made the construction of a socialist political system with a high degree of democracy a basic task of the socialist revolution, and pointed out that socialist democracy, being a higher form of democracy than bourgeois democracy, is one which enables the greatest majority of the working people to play the role as master of their own house. Such a democracy embodies a rich democratic content in politics, economy, social life, and so on, which bourgeois democracy can never achieve. Under socialist democracy, the leadership of the Communist Party must be upheld, the development of the socialist system must be guaranteed, the freedom of activities that upset socialism must be banned, and dictatorship over counter-revolutionary elements must be maintained. Socialist democracy, being the unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, cannot allow any practice of absolute democracy and freedom that ignores centralism and discipline. All the above-mentioned factors are included in the meaning of a high degree of democracy which, perfecting socialist democracy, should never be confused with bourgeois democracy. The high degree of development of the various democratic systems and democratic life under socialism will take a long period to complete and cannot be reached in a hurry before all the necessary political, economic, cultural and social conditions gradually become available. However, in order to realize it step by step, it is very necessary to raise it as a great goal of socialist politics, and to strive hard to create the conditions for it and accumulate the relevant experience.

V

Since the third plenary session, the party's central authorities have put forward the task of strengthening the construction of the party, in the light of the experiences obtained during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and according to the present state of the party. The 10-year turbulence of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was indeed a rigorous test for our party. The party on the one hand stood the test, relying on its formidable revolutionary force fostered in years

of arduous struggles; on the other, it exposed its shortcomings in those aspects such as ideology, organization system, the relationship with the masses, and so on. Moreover, as the "Great Cultural Revolution" further harmed the construction of the party, the fighting power of the party's proletarian vanguard was weakened. If we get at the roots of the matter, we can find that it was because we had not properly solved the problem of the construction of the ruling party under the new historical conditions. After our party became the ruling party within the territory of the country, how to maintain close ties between the party and the masses and how to appropriately represent the people's interests, both constitute a fundamental question concerning the party's construction. Although this question was raised at the eighth national congress of the CCP and some general regulations were formulated to cope with it, no concrete measures were taken to guarantee the implementation of the principles and regulations. Historical experience since the founding of the PRC shows that our party's guiding principles have kept comparatively correct whenever its leaders and cadres could maintain their links with the masses, be concerned for them, reflect their opinions and represent their interests. It cannot be denied that the shaping and development of our party's leftist mistakes in guiding ideology were due to the fact that our party's leadership failed to properly reflect and represent the people's interests.

The party Central Committee has paid much attention to the strengthening of the party's construction through learning lessons from past experience, to the rectification of organization and work style and to the improvement of the systems of the party. In January 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping acutely put forth the question concerning the qualification of party members, and the improvement of the party's leading work and leading system. In August of the same year, he emphatically put forward again the essential problem of reforming the leading system of the party and the country, pointing out that the reform and perfection of the organizational and working system were of fundamental significance. In the autumn of 1980, Comrade Chen Yun remarked that the work style of the ruling party was a problem of vital importance to the party's destiny. At the meeting celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the party, Comrade Hu Yaobang set demands in six aspects for the party. All these are important guiding ideologies for strengthening the construction of our party in the new historical period.

The resolution cited the efforts and achievements which our party had made during the last 2 years or so in strengthening its construction. Of course, while the party is recovering from setbacks suffered over years in the past, it can hardly expect miraculous changes to be accomplished in a short time. Anyway, compared with the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we have actually achieved considerable successes in normalizing inner-party activities, developing inner-party democracy and strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. This fact shows once again that our party is a proletarian party with wonderful self-generative ability.

The great significance of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee lies in that it was the real starting point of the extensive and resolute movement to redress wrongs, launched with the support of the masses and after thorough deliberations; while the sixth plenary session has accomplished the historical mission of setting to right things which had been thrown into disorder in the field of the party's guiding ideology. In summing up historical

experiences, we have corrected the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong and the party, and realistically appraised his historical place and the guiding role of his thought in the Chinese revolution. In the meantime, we have also restored and enriched the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical situation, and thus gradually found a correct road for the construction of socialist modernization, which fits our national conditions. There is still a lot of work to do in improving and strengthening the leadership of the party. What can be anticipated is, we can surely render our party purer and more powerful to accomplish more competently the great mission that history has entrusted to it if we strive hard in the direction which the party's central authorities have indicated since the third plenary session.

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HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE SHOWS THE CORRECT ROAD TO OUR COUNTRY'S MODERNIZATION

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[Article by Teng Wensheng [6187 2429 3932]]

[Text] Over the past 32 years since the founding of our state, our socialist cause has traversed a most difficult and winding road of development and has accumulated both positive and negative rich experiences. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" specifically lists 10 historical experiences of the socialist revolution and construction under the party's leadership since the founding of our state. The resolution is based on a practical and realistic analysis of all historical developments over the past 32 years and of the important historical events, historical activities and historical controversies. It includes an analysis of the new and gigantic endeavors for modernization made by our people, under our party's leadership, since the holding of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. These 10 experiences provide the basic guidelines for our continuing to build socialism in the new historical period. They embody the principal points of the correct road to socialist modernization, which conform to the realities of our country. These points are those which our party has gradually established since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. If we can firmly abide by them and continuously replenish and cultivate them in the course of actual practice, we certainly can avoid committing the errors of the past, and we will definitely achieve socialist modernization. Because of limited space, this writer will only dwell on certain experiences in this article based on the rough and elementary understanding derived from his study.

We Must Firmly and Irrevocably Put the Key Points of the Work of the Party and Nation on Socialist Modernization

Socialism is the most advanced production method and social system in the history of mankind. The historical task of socialism aims at eliminating the system of exploitation and the exploiting class and also at gradually eliminating all class differences. It also aims at the elimination of great social differences and social inequality caused principally by insufficient development of the productive forces. Greatly developing the productive forces has a decisive significance in consolidating the socialist system and completing the historical task of socialism. Our country was originally a semicolonial and semifeudal state which was extremely backward economically and culturally. Therefore, with the basic

completion of the socialist rebuilding of the system of private ownership of the means of production, it is all the more necessary to concentrate our main efforts on economic construction and on the speedy development of social productive forces. Whether we can accomplish economic modernization is an important criterion which affects the future development and destiny of socialism in our country.

Since the founding of our state, our party, while simultaneously leading the people in social construction and devoting great efforts to the development of economic construction on a gigantic scale, has achieved glorious results. Unfortunately, over the prolonged period following the basic completion of socialist construction, we have failed to concentrate our efforts on economic construction. We have neglected to make it the central task of the whole party and the whole country. Instead, we attempted to deviate from this central task and proceeded with the elimination of social differences. By the time of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we actually proposed a fallacious viewpoint, which basically violated dialectical materialism and was opposed to the so-called "theory of productive forces." The result was that both the socialist cause and the people's livelihood suffered enormous losses. This lesson was indeed a very painful one. Fundamentally speaking, all our past errors may be ascribed to it. On the basis of this lesson, the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee firmly and irrevocably shifted the focus of the party's and nation's work to socialist modernization centered on economic construction. This received the hearty support of people of the whole country. The resolution clearly pointed out: "Hereafter, except in the event of a large-scale invasion of our country by a foreign enemy (even then we will still engage in the necessary economic construction possible in time of war), we will never again deviate from this central task. The various kinds of party work must conform with and serve this central task of economic construction. All party cadres, particularly those in economic departments, must earnestly study economic theory, economic work, science and technology."

We must firmly establish the following viewpoint both in theory and in practice: With the basic completion of socialist construction and the basic establishment of an economic and political system under socialism, the principal contradiction we must solve is that arising between the daily increasing material and cultural needs of the people and the backward social productive forces. We must energetically cultivate and develop socialist democracy. We must gradually solve the economic, political, cultural and other problems which continuously emerge in the course of social development. We must also gradually improve the material and cultural life of the people. All these constitute the basic tasks of the party and of the state for the whole socialist construction period and are in conformity with the basic laws of socialism.

We Must Start From the National Condition of Our Country and Carry Out Socialist Modernization According to Our Capability

On the eve of the founding of our state, the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee made a clear-cut analysis of the national condition of our country. On the basis of this analysis, a series of correct strategies, tactics and policies on the building of a new China were formulated. The problem was

that, following the founding of the state, particularly after the basic completion of socialist construction, the important task of how further concretely and systematically to study and understand the national condition of our country was neglected. Historical practice has shown that whether we started our work with due regard for the national condition of the country had a direct bearing on whether our party's leadership was correct and effective and also on whether the socialist enterprises of our country could develop smoothly. In the past, the principal manifestation of the longstanding "leftist" errors in our economic work was precisely seen in the deviation of the work from the national condition of our country and in expectations far surpassing practicability. It was not understood that elevating backward productive forces, such as those of our country, to an advanced stage would require prolonged and arduous efforts. We neglected the economic effect of production and construction and of economic control and also neglected the economic theory behind various economic plans, economic policies and economic measures. Consequently, huge waste and losses were incurred. After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee devoted its efforts to rectifying past "leftist" errors, and, in relation to the current national economy, put forth the correct guideline of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving. The aim was to make our construction conform with the national condition of the country.

Over the past 32 years, we have achieved rather considerable results in spheres such as creating the necessary social and political conditions and building up, relatively speaking, an impressive material foundation for undertaking socialist modernization. Unfortunately, the fundamentally backward state of our economy and culture has not basically changed. Our country is rich in natural resources and manpower, but the level of its social productive forces is very low. Of the population of 1 billion people, 800 million are peasants. The arable land in our country is limited. There is a great disparity in economic development between the different geographical areas. Feudal ideas and the tendency, through habit, to engage in small-scale production have exerted profound influence. In short, the socialist system of our country is still far from perfect. The national condition has ordained that building our country into a modern socialist state will require a rather prolonged period of time and will be a difficult task. It has determined that the economic construction of our country must be governed by our capability. We must seek practical results, and must pursue the objective of modernization systematically and step by step. First, we must ensure that our country reaches the stage of being "comparatively well-off," that is, the level of developing nations with medium-level national incomes. After that, we can pursue a higher objective. In formulating the strategies, tactics and policies for the modernization of our cause, we must penetratingly analyze the advantageous and disadvantageous aspects of the national condition and use these as the basic starting point.

We Must Shape and Improve Socialist Production Relations To Conform With the Condition of the Productive Forces

The production relations of socialism are neither solidified nor unchangeable nor subject to changes at man's will. Transforming and improving them must follow the objective law of conformity with the nature and demand of the productive forces. Prior to 1956, we adopted various kinds of transitional measures

to carry out the socialist rebuilding of agriculture, the handicrafts, and capitalist industry and commerce. Over 3 difficult years, we readjusted the relations in the collective ownership system in the rural areas and other economic relations. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, in agriculture we have enforced the sound production responsibility systems, in industry we have set up trial points for the expansion of decisionmaking power, and in finance and trade we have carried out reforms in conformity with the situation existing at the time. All these efforts have followed objective laws and all have been successful experiences. Hence, in the promotion of production development, notable results were achieved. However, in the past we learned a serious lesson from this work. This was that we had divorced ourselves from the actual condition of the productive forces. We carried out so-called "unceasing reforms" on the production relations. We rejected the concept that while retaining the absolute supremacy of the socialist public ownership system in our country as a condition, there was still the need, for a long time to come, for the existence of other forms of ownership systems. We attempted to effect the early transition of the system of ownership by the collectives to ownership by the whole people, and eliminated the vital individual economy of laborers. We also rejected the need to fully develop commodity production and the exchange of commodities, attempting to restrict the role played by the market in the national economy. Consequently, the development of production was seriously affected and impaired. Such errors must be firmly avoided from now on.

The resolution pointed out: "The state-operated economy and the collective economy are the basic economic forms of our country. The individual economy of laborers within a definite sphere is a necessary adjunct to the economy of the public ownership. We must bring into force a concrete management system and a distribution system suitable for the different components of the economy. We must, on the basis of the public ownership system, enforce a planned economy and, at the same time, bring into full play the regulating and supplementary roles of the market. We must vigorously develop socialist commodity production and commodity exchange." This constitutes a scientific summing up of historical experiences and is entirely correct. With the prerequisite of firmly insisting on the state exerting scientific control over the national economy by means of economic measures and, if necessary, administrative measures, we must give adequate protection to the right of enterprises to exercise their decisionmaking power and enable them to become, relatively speaking, independent socialist commodity producers.

The evolution of socialist production relations does not follow an unchanging set pattern on the basis of previous experience. Its development does not necessarily follow simple steps like we used to imagine: evolving from a small collective to a larger collective, and from the collective to the whole people, hence to elimination of commodity production and transition to communism. At present, we cannot, nor is there any need to, prescribe in advance the definite procedure of precisely how it evolves from the primary level to the higher level and how its subsequent transition to communism is effected. Our task is to constantly study the actual condition of economic development, summarize the concrete experience from actual practice, and, based on the demand for the development of the productive forces in our country, work out at each and every stage of development a concrete form of production relation which is suitable and helps in continuing our progress forward.

We Must Correctly Understand and Handle the Internal Contradictions of a Socialist Society

For more than 20 years, the experiences and lessons learned from this problem have been extremely profound. At the time of the basic completion of socialist construction, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong in a timely manner brought to the attention of comrades of the whole party the important question of the correct understanding and handling of the internal contradictions in our social structure following the basic completion of socialist construction. Unfortunately, the problem was that after this problem had been brought up we still failed to make a really earnest and systematic study and analysis on the actual conditions of class struggle and of other social contradictions within our social structure. Nor did we have a correct policy concerning this. This led to the prolonged continuance of the implementation of the guideline of "taking class struggle as the key link." Many contradictions resembling, but actually not, class struggle were dealt with as class struggle and, in this way, we committed the serious error of expanding the scope of class struggle. This eventually brought about the historical tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party, having learned such a painful lesson, absolutely ceased to use the slogan "take class struggle as the key link," which was inappropriate for a socialist society. This will have profound significance in ensuring the smooth progress of the socialist cause of our country.

Naturally, with the basic completion of socialist construction and following the elimination of the exploiting class as a class, class struggle did not cease entirely but is destined to remain in certain spheres for a long period. Because the evil legacy of the system of exploitation and the exploiting class in various spheres could not be completely eradicated within a short period of time and because a certain portion of our territory had not eradicated the system of exploitation, it became natural for the exploiting class and political cliques hostile to socialism to engage in sabotage activities against our socialist system. Because foreign imperialism, social imperialism and the international system of exploitation and exploiting class unavoidably had infiltrated into, or had left their influences in, various areas of our society's life and also because our socialist system was still imperfect and there were found, in the system, weak links and loopholes which could be used by hostile elements, class struggle not only continued to exist for a prolonged period but also, under certain conditions, was intensified or manifested rather sharply in one way or another. For this reason, this matter should not be regarded lightly. We must keep a high degree of vigilance against various kinds of sabotage activities perpetrated by elements hostile to socialism in the political, economic, ideological and cultural sectors, and also in the people's livelihood. In addition, we must correctly employ legal weapons to effectively stage our counterstruggle. As the resolution precisely stated: "We must adhere to the viewpoint of not enlarging class struggle and also to the standpoint which refutes the idea that class struggle has completely subsided."

Among the internal contradictions of our socialist society, apart from a portion which are contradictions in the nature of class struggle, the great proportion of the remainder, such as those concerning economics, politics, ideology and culture

and other social affairs, do not belong to the realm of class struggle. They are contradictions based on the unanimity of the interests of the people. These contradictions are largely manifested in the conflict of interests between the state, the collective and the individual and also the conflict of interests between different sections of the people. They are also manifested in matters of ideology and understanding by the contradictions which exist between the advanced and the backward and between the correct and the erroneous, although they possess a general and common objective. Their occurrence is owing to the existence of the various forms of the ownership system in our socialist country and to the principles of the division of labor in society and distribution according to work done. It is owing to the insufficient development of the productive forces of our society and to the uneven development of the economy and culture in different localities. It is owing to the influence of the traditions and habits left over by the old society and to the imperfections of our socialist system and the defects and errors in leadership work. It is also owing to the disparity in the conditions and capacity of understanding of the people. Unlike the contradictions involved in handling class struggle, these contradictions must be correctly solved by other methods. Moreover, since the manifestation of these contradictions takes various intricate and complex forms and shapes, the methods of solution should likewise take different forms and shapes. Historical events have shown that careless and inappropriate handling of such contradictions can give rise to various kinds of conflict and confrontation and might be harmful to stability and unity.

In the entire historical process of socialist construction, the most important task which our party must perform from beginning to end, ideologically and in actual practice, is to constantly watch and penetratingly study the nature of the changes in the development of the internal contradictions of our social structure. It must formulate correct policies, and scientifically, but not subjectively or in a stereotyped manner, examine and handle the various kinds of complex social phenomena and their legal relations. Only by performing this task well can we correctly and effectively strike at our enemy, unite together all the forces that can be united, enduringly maintain and develop a social and political situation of stability and unity and continually push forward our socialist modernization.

We Must Gradually Build Up a Highly Democratic Socialist Political System

Socialism is not only an economic system superior to the capitalist exploitative system but is also a political system of a higher standard than the democratic system of the capitalist class. One of the basic tasks of socialist revolution is to build a perfect political system of socialist democracy. It is an important objective in our building of a modernized socialist state.

Just after the founding of our state, we devoted much effort to, and reaped rather considerable results from, establishing a political system of people's democracy, that is, socialist democracy. This protected the basic democratic rights of the people. However, following the establishment of the basic system of socialism, we failed to give important attention to, and handle, the extremely important political task of how to further strengthen and develop this socialist democracy. As a result, this became an important cause for the eruption of the

"Great Cultural Revolution." Speaking from an ideological viewpoint, our principal error lay in frequently regarding socialism only as an economic system embodying the public ownership system of the means of production. We neglected its status of being, at the same time, a highly democratic political system. We were prone to consider democracy only as a method of work and, at the same time, failed to consider the building of a highly democratic political system as an important objective. From the viewpoint of actual work, we also failed really to give important attention to and correctly solve problems, such as: How can we, by instituting a system and through legislation, protect the people's power of control over the state and the affairs of their own enterprises and also protect the rights and privileges of the citizens? How can we ensure that the people can effectively supervise the working personnel of the party and of the state? How can we ensure that the people can constantly display their initiative and creativeness? In the course of the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," all normal democratic life was destroyed. At that time, "great democracy" was taken to be only "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" which, in reality, were means to suppress the democratic rights of the people and to stir up social and political discord and were actually the same as ultrademocracy and anarchism. This only served to inflict heavy damages on the already frail socialist democracy. Our party and people thus learned a very painful lesson. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party, employing a series of measures such as reversing the unjust, false and wrong court verdicts, expanding the democratic life of the state and society, and strengthening legislative and judicial work, rapidly restored and pushed forward the democratization of the state. This was indeed a milestone indicating a historical turning point in the building of a socialist democratic political system in our country and the commencement of a new stage of development.

In order to fully develop socialist democracy, to realize the democratization of the political life of the state and of economic and cultural management and the entire social structure, and also to make socialist democracy a really perfect, strong, convenient and effective system capable of doing enduring work, obviously the party and people must still make prolonged, firm and untiring efforts. They must gradually create democratic principles, democratic forms, democratic procedures and organizational structures which conform to the national condition of our country. Obviously, this cannot be achieved within a short period of time. Rather, just like economic modernization, it must progress forward step by step according to plan.

We Must Gradually Build Socialist Spiritual Civilization of a High Degree

The development of a socialist spiritual civilization is not only an important and essential condition for our endeavors in socialist economic construction and political construction but also an important objective for our building of a modern and strong socialist nation. Lacking a noble spirit and allowing corrupt ideas and evil social habits to develop freely will not only endanger and make man's spiritual life barren but will also seriously damage his material life. Under such circumstances, it will be impossible to talk about the building of socialism, much less the transition to communism.

In building a socialist spiritual civilization of a high degree, an important task is to improve the educational, scientific and cultural undertakings and constantly increase the level of the people's knowledge and wisdom. Education, science and culture are the basic means and channels for developing a spiritual civilization. We must firmly sweep aside all erroneous thoughts which belittle education, science and culture and those which discriminate against intellectuals. We must strive hard to heighten the position and role of education, science and culture in modernization. We must elevate the economic, political and social status of intellectuals and work out a system to utilize specialists and experts in the policymaking work of modernization. We must irrevocably insist on the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and firmly protect the people's freedom and right to pursue scientific and cultural activities. We should ensure that our educational system fully and effectively imparts knowledge and wisdom, disseminates revolutionary ideals, and trains a large number of cultural workers imbued with socialist consciousness as well as various kinds of specialists and experts. We should assign to science the job of eliminating superstition and ignorance. We should arm the people with scientific knowledge and make use of scientific knowledge to tackle the supreme task of increasing the scientific attainment of the whole people. We must make our literature and art powerful weapons to educate and enhance the morale of the people and to cultivate and nurture the communist spirit of sacrifice among the people as well as the consciousness of socialist citizens. We must ensure that our intellectuals are able to contribute a large number of cultural achievements which have real scientific artistic value to the nation and people.

In the building of a socialist spiritual civilization of a high degree, another important task is that all parties must work together to set up, among the people, the far-sighted ideal, good moral standard and revolutionary discipline of communism and to present the spiritual countenance of our own state, which is revolutionary, healthy, and full of vigor and vitality. We must vigorously strengthen and improve our ideological and political work and earnestly strengthen ideological education on Marxism and communism for our people, particularly for youths. We must enforce an educational system of patriotism and revolutionary traditions and firmly insist on an educational guideline which calls for the all-round development of the mind, the heart and the body, the training of people who are both Red and expert, the joining together of intellectuals with the workers and peasants, and the union of mental and physical labor. We must resolutely resist the influences of corrupt capitalist ideas and of remnant feudal thinking. We must overcome the influences of the petit bourgeois. Furthermore, we must continue to wipe out the baneful effects of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, who trampled upon, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," revolutionary ideals, moral codes and discipline and who upheld ignorance, selfishness and barbarism. By means of such work, we must make Marxism increasingly become the guiding thought of the various components of the social structure, with the expectation that our people and youth will all possess far-sighted ideals and a high moral standard, be imbued with a patriotic spirit which places the interest and glory of the motherland above all, and also will be bestowed with a determined and enterprising spirit ready to contribute everything to the cause of modernization.

We Must Strive Hard To Strengthen and Improve Party Leadership

The resolution pointed out: "Without the Chinese Communist Party, there would be no new China. In a similar manner, without the Chinese Communist Party, there will be no modern socialist China. The Chinese Communist Party is armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, with the historical mission of the eventual realization of communism. It is the political party of the proletariat, it enforces rigid discipline, and it is eminently capable of self-criticism. Without this party carrying out arduous, meticulous and effective work among the people and thereby earning high prestige, our state, on account of various internal and external causes, would be torn to pieces and the future of our race and people would be in jeopardy. The leadership of our party cannot be without errors, but the intimate union and relationship between the party and the people should ensure that such errors are rectified. Nobody should use the pretext of the party having committed errors to weaken, or shake off, or endanger the party's leadership. Weakening, evading and damaging the party's leadership means committing bigger errors and will lead to a serious disaster." This is the most basic summary and evaluation of the events over the last 60 years, particularly of the historical experiences under the party's leadership over the last 32 years since the founding of the state. In fact, it is an irrevocable historical conclusion derived by the entire Chinese people from their own experiences.

For the sake of insisting on and strengthening the party's leadership and ensuring the correctness and effectiveness of this leadership, we must take stock of the experiences and lessons derived since the founding of the state and particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Based on the actual condition of our party at present, we must concentrate our efforts on one single point, viz, to strive earnestly to strengthen party building, which means strengthening its ideology, politics, organization, and its leadership system and methods. Thus, the party's leadership will be continuously improved. At present, the strengthening of party building should be carried out on three fronts.

1. We must insist on and strengthen democratic centralism within the party. The frail condition of democratic centralism and its impaired status were the principal reasons for the breeding of serious "leftist" errors in the past and the inability to stifle such errors in time. Actual practice has proved that the key to building our party into one possessing strong democratic centralism, and not democratic centralism in name only or of impaired status, lies in overcoming the phenomenon of the overconcentration of power in one individual or in a small group of people, in truly carrying out a fully effective system of collective leadership and in broadening democratic life within the party. At the same time, we should correctly employ the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and overcome the various erroneous thoughts which deviate from the party's correct principles. We should eradicate factionalism, oppose anarchism and extreme individualism, and stress adherence to the discipline of the organizational structure.

2. We must cement and strengthen the close relationship between the party and the people. This is the basic link in the current task of strengthening and improving the party's leadership. Party organs at various levels are dutybound to support and lead the people to act as the masters of the state. They should

struggle against any erroneous acts and erroneous tendencies which infringe on the rights of the people or damage their interests. Furthermore, they must cleanse the party ranks and determinedly remove those corrupt and degenerate elements bent on cheating and oppressing the people. Leadership cadres of party organs at various levels should go deep into the masses and into reality, investigate and study, act modestly and prudently, and be firmly determined to overcome leadership work styles and methods that smack of bureaucratism. Each and every party member should truly be able to share weal and woe with the people and by no means should make use of the party's ruling position, or the power in his or her hands, to seek private gain or special privileges.

3. We must correct the relationship between the party and the government and between the party and other organizational structures. The party's correct and effective leadership of the government, of the economic and cultural organs, and of mass organizations does not include leadership of an administrative or technological character but leadership in ideology and politics and leadership in guidelines and policies. This kind of leadership requires the party to guarantee from all angles that the power structures, administrative organs, judicial organs and the various economic and cultural organs of the state can effectively exercise their own power and authority. As for the mass organizations such as the trade union, youth league, women's federation and so on, the party must ensure that they can use their initiative in taking up their tasks and can follow the party's guidelines and policies to wage effective struggle in the interests of the masses which they represent.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party, summing up past historical experiences, has done much work in the direction of strengthening and improving its leadership. It has formulated the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." It has revised the party's rules and regulations, gradually rectified the party's work style, improved the party's organizational structure, and begun to reform the party's leadership system and the cadre system. All these fully indicate that our party is one which can learn lessons from historical experiences and from the errors it has committed and that it possesses great determination, wisdom and strength to effect its own building. A party of this kind is unconquerable. In the course of continuously and incessantly improving its own leadership, it certainly can shoulder, in an even better way, the enormous burden which history has bestowed on it. Our socialist cause, our nation, our race and our people have an extremely bright future!

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CORRECTLY ANALYZE AND UNDERSTAND THE 'GREAT CULTURAL REVOLUTION'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 pp 43-48

[Article by Shao Huaze [6730 5478 3419]]

[Text] Why did the "Great Cultural Revolution" take place? Why did it last for as long as 10 years? What is its nature? What experiences and lessons has it brought to our party and people? Can we prevent it from happening again? People have been thinking about and discussing these questions and they wish to obtain correct answers to them. At present, the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" unanimously adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee has made an overall scientific conclusion on the "Great Cultural Revolution" in a highly theoretical and extremely convincing way. This provides a unified foundation for the whole party and all the people of the country to understand the "Great Cultural Revolution."

I

The "Great Cultural Revolution" was carried out under the guidance of a whole series of theories. In order to understand the "Great Cultural Revolution" we must first analyze these theories.

The theory which guided the "Great Cultural Revolution" was the so-called "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat."

This theory was not summed up by Comrade Mao Zedong, but its principal theses were put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Mao Zedong also agreed to this summation. This theory was repeatedly publicized during the "Great Cultural Revolution" as a new development of Marxism-Leninism.

This theory took shape gradually. Some of its viewpoints had already been put forth before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and new things had been continuously added to it. At the CCP "Ninth Congress," it was affirmed as the chief content of the party constitution.

The essence of this theory is that after the proletariat has seized state power and eliminated the exploiting classes as a class and the exploiting system, it is still necessary to carry out a great political revolution in which one class overthrows another. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was a "revolution" of this kind.

During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Comrade Mao Zedong tried to check and rectify some specific mistakes, but on the whole he persisted in upholding the "Great Cultural Revolution" thinking that it should be assessed as "70 percent achievements and 30 percent mistakes." The root cause was that he did not realize that the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was wrong but thought that it was a Marxist theory needed for consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. One very important reason why during the period beginning from the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique to the convening of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution" could not have been corrected and a large number of unjust, false and wrong cases (including the Tiananmen incident) could not have been redressed was that in addition to limitations of historical conditions, Comrade Hua Guofeng, who was then chairman of the CCP Central Committee, still affirmed the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" and committed again the leftist mistake in guiding ideology. Therefore, clarifying this erroneous theory is of utmost importance in continuing to bring order out of chaos in practical work and in guarding against similar mistakes in future.

The mistakes of this theory's theses can be grouped into two aspects: First, it is not in conformity with Marxism-Leninism. Second, it is not in conformity with China's reality. These things mean that it deviates completely from the fundamental principle of integrating Marxist-Leninist basic principles with China's concrete reality which our party has adhered to over a long time.

Let us first look at the first aspect.

The tasks of the proletarian revolution were very clearly stated by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto." They pointed out: "The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of a ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, that is, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 272) This means that in order to seize state power and to achieve emancipation of itself and of the oppressed peoples, the proletariat must carry out a political revolution in which one class overthrows another. After it has seized state power, it has to solve the problem of how to make use of it to abolish the capitalist ownership of the means of production and to develop with great efforts social productive forces.

Of course, according to the Marxist viewpoint, even after the proletariat has seized state power and has changed the private ownership of the means of production into the socialist public ownership, it still has to fulfill heavy revolutionary tasks. This is because socialism not only has to eliminate all exploiting systems and exploiting classes but also has to greatly develop the social productive forces, improve and develop socialist productive relations and the superstructure and on this basis gradually eliminate all class differences and major social differences and social inequalities mainly caused by underdevelopment of the productive forces, until communism is realized. Without doubt this revolution

is profound in nature and long in duration. However, this revolution is greatly different from that before the exploiting system was abolished. This is because:

1. Objective conditions are greatly different. The state power is now in the hands of the proletariat and the broad masses of people. Public ownership of the means of production plays a leading role and the country's economic lifelines are in the hands of the proletariat and the laboring people. The proletarian party has become the ruling party guiding activities of the whole country and the orientation of social development with its own line, principles and policies. In this way, the destiny and future of the country is completely in the hands of the proletariat and the broad masses of people.

2. The nature of the contradictions to be resolved is greatly different. The exploiting classes have been eliminated as a class. Although class struggle still exists within a certain scope and may even become acute at times, class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction. Contradictions between ourselves and the enemy have been greatly reduced and what needs handling in large numbers are various contradictions among the people.

3. The central task of the revolution is greatly different. It is no longer the overthrowing of the old state machine but the constant reform and improvement of the new one. It is no longer the overthrowing of the old productive relations but the constant reform and improvement of the new ones. All this is for the protection and development of the productive forces. Developing the social productive forces has become the central task of the revolution and all other work should generally be subordinate to this center and serve this center. Since the development of social productive forces is a process of constant accumulation, it needs a sustained stable social environment.

Because of these differences, this revolution cannot and should not be effected by means of acute class confrontation and conflicts, but should be carried out by steps and in an orderly way by means of the socialist system itself and under the leadership of the party and state power.

Obviously, carrying out from bottom to top a revolution in which one class overthrows another after seizing state power and eliminating the exploiting classes as a class goes against Marxist basic principles and also goes against some correct theses put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong himself.

Let us look at the second aspect.

The basis on which the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" was put forth was the erroneous appraisal of our country's class situation and the political conditions of our party and country. This erroneous appraisal was mainly shown in: 1) Thinking that serious and overall class struggle existed both in our country's cities and rural areas and that not only the exploiting classes "were still there and would not admit their failure," but even after the socialist transformation of the private ownership had been basically completed, collective agriculture would still give rise to capitalism and the bourgeoisie at all times and in large measure; 2) thinking that not only nearly all intellectuals trained in the old society remained to be bourgeois intellectuals

after socialist education and transformation over a long period, but also most of the intellectuals trained by the CCP in the new society were also bourgeois intellectuals; 3) thinking that bourgeois representatives, that is, capitalist roaders, were also produced in the party, the government, the army and various circles of the cultural field and therefore the socialist revolution in the new period should mainly be carried out within the party; 4) thinking that inner-party persons in power taking the capitalist road had already formed a bourgeois headquarters and were pursuing a revisionist line and that the right of leadership of quite a majority of units was not in the hands of true Marxists and the masses; 5) thinking that the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would remain the principal contradiction throughout the historical stage of socialism and the danger of capitalist restoration would also remain throughout. Practice has clearly proved that this appraisal was entirely subjective and was not in conformity with reality.

When the "Great Cultural Revolution" was initiated in 1966, the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the state power of the proletarian dictatorship, had been established 17 years before and the socialist transformation had been basically completed 10 years before. Although we had suffered setbacks, the political and economic situation in our country was developing. Although there were various kinds of shortcomings in our party, its line, on the whole, was correct. The people were united, the society was stable and the state power was solid. Where was the political and economic foundation for carrying out a great political revolution in which one class overthrows another?

The erroneous appraisal of the situation inevitably led to the confusion of right and wrong and the confusion of the enemy and ourselves. This has been clearly proved by the practice which the party and the people have paid dearly for. Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. In the past the broad masses of party members and the people were not clear about the "Great Cultural Revolution" and now they have gradually come to realize its mistakes. This is mainly the result of practice. The "Great Cultural Revolution" did not promote construction, but caused damage; did not bring happiness to the people, but brought misfortune to them. One of the reasons why Comrade Mao Zedong upheld the "Great Cultural Revolution" throughout was that he became more and more divorced from reality and the masses. Being deliberately hoodwinked and deceived by the counterrevolutionary Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, he became more and more unable to listen to the voices of practice and the people.

Some people ask: Does it mean that we will not make revolution in the future when we criticize the "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat"? This is a misunderstanding. The "theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" has been closely linked with the "Great Cultural Revolution" and it has a specific meaning. In order to negate the "Great Cultural Revolution," we must negate its erroneous theory. Otherwise, the reversal of right and wrong cannot be reversed, various kinds of ideological confusions cannot be clarified and the people cannot build up their confidence in the party and the country's guarantee that no such things as the "Great Cultural Revolution" will ever occur again. That we negate and criticize this erroneous theory is to unify the thinking and steps of the whole party and the people of the whole country so that the socialist revolution and construction can

be more smoothly pushed forward under the guidance of the Marxist line established at the party's third plenary session.

II

How to judge the nature of the "Great Cultural Revolution" is also an important problem in correctly understanding the "Great Cultural Revolution."

For many years, we have been saying that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a calamity and a catastrophe. No doubt this is correct. Of course, this is only a way to describe the circumstances and consequences of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and not to determine the nature of this important historical event.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" was not in any sense a revolution. There is no longer any doubt about this. The word "revolution" has two meanings: One is a political revolution in which one class overthrows another, that is, the overthrowing of an old state power. Marx said, "Since each revolution destroys an old society, it is of a social nature and since each revolution overthrows an old state power, it is of a political nature." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 488) Lenin also said, "The passing of state power from one class to another is the first, the principal, the basic sign of a revolution, both in the strictly scientific and in the practical political meaning of that term." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 25) It has another meaning in a broader sense. Revolution means transformation, the replacement of old things by the new, such as technical revolution, cultural revolution, and so on. Obviously, the "Great Cultural Revolution" did not belong to any of the aforesaid revolutions. Therefore, it did not and could not have brought about any social progress.

Was the "Great Cultural Revolution" a counterrevolution? No, it was not that either. Indeed, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the two ferocious Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques emerged and carried out a lot of counterrevolutionary sabotage activities. In order to attain their criminal goal of seizing the supreme power of the party and the country, they barbarously injured and killed cadres, the masses and people of all walks of life among all nationalities, misrepresented, distorted and negated Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and sabotaged and strived to overthrow our country's people's democratic dictatorship and destroy our party. Both of these cliques had their own factional setups and secret armed forces for plotting rebellion. Lin Biao and his ilk plotted to kill Comrade Mao Zedong, establish another government and throw in their lot with foreign countries. The Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and its henchmen in Shanghai also plotted to stage an armed rebellion when it was faced with destruction. All these are ironclad facts. However, can we say, because of this, that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was on the whole a counter-revolution? No, we cannot say so because:

First, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong and was carried out according to his erroneous theory and guiding ideology. The mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong were mistakes made by a great revolutionary.

Second, the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques indeed made use of Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes and usurped a large portion of the leadership of the party and the state. However, their number was extremely few and they were never able to usurp the supreme power.

Third, the party and the people had all along carried out arduous and complicated struggle against the two counterrevolutionary cliques. It was precisely under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong that we smashed the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique. Later, we again smashed the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique.

Fourth, although we suffered a great disaster, the nature of our party, the people's state power, the people's army and the whole society had not been changed.

Therefore, it is not in conformity with reality if we say that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a counterrevolution.

The resolution made a clear conclusion on the nature of the "Great Cultural Revolution," pointing out that the "Great Cultural Revolution," initiated by a leader laboring under a misapprehension and capitalized on by counterrevolutionary cliques, led to domestic turmoil and brought catastrophe to the party, the state and the whole people. It must be said that this conclusion is very precise.

That the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a domestic turmoil was deeply felt by the broad masses.

In the first place, there was ideological disorder. Many of the correct principles, policies and achievements of the 17 years since the founding of the PRC were negated, many Marxist-Leninist principles were criticized as revisionist, many erroneous things were regarded as newly emerged socialist things and rights and wrongs were confused and even reversed. Feudal, bourgeois and petit bourgeois ideas seized the opportunity and became unprecedentedly lively, and anarchism, ultra-individualism and factionalism also ran wild.

There was also organizational disorder. Party organizations and government departments at all levels were universally attacked and reorganized and a large number of leading cadres were criticized and overthrown, resulting in partially or wholly paralyzing the party and government organizations at all levels, the standstill of inner-party life, a split among the masses and a large quantity of sabotage activities carried out by various kinds of opportunists, careerists and conspirators.

There was also disorder in social life. The constitution, law and party constitution became a scrap of waste paper. Party discipline, administrative discipline and army discipline became lax and rules and regulations were put aside. There was no end to violence and factional wars, and acts of smashing and grabbing became common. Normal order for work, study and life was interrupted to a great extent.

As stated in the resolution, it was we and not the enemy at all who were thrown into disorder.

In order to attain their counterrevolutionary goal, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," of course, desired to see the world plunged into chaos. They precisely wanted to seize power and assume power in chaos. They always desired to see more chaos and did not permit social stability or unity of the party and unity of the people. Therefore, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," the least rectification would make them feel as if they were faced with imminent disaster and any measure which was conducive to stability would be interfered with and obstructed by them. They seized every chance to launch an attack or make trouble. The masses said, "If the four pests are not wiped out, there will not be peace in our party or in our country." This was indeed correct.

Comrade Mao Zedong at first erroneously thought that the "disorder" was a move to "throw the enemy into disorder and to harden the masses." Later, he thought of changing "disorder" into "order" and put an end to the state of affairs brought about by the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, the development of things took a diametrically opposite course. The turmoil was not halted from beginning to end, nor was the situation stabilized. Because the erroneous theory of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the erroneous principles, policies and methods it adopted were incompatible with the steady development of the socialist system and incompatible with the people's interests and desires, they inevitably gave rise to domestic turmoil. Only by thoroughly negating the theory and practice of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and thoroughly smashing the counterrevolutionary cliques whose existence depended on the "Great Cultural Revolution" can we completely eliminate the origin of domestic turmoil, have true stability and unity and realize great order under heaven.

III

How to analyze the struggle of the party and the people during the "Great Cultural Revolution" is also an indispensable aspect in correctly understanding the historical period of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Undoubtedly we must negate the theory and practice, the policies, principles and concrete methods of the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, the history of the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was full of contradictions and struggle and it can and should be analyzed in a "one dividing into two" way. The resolution did not adopt a metaphysical attitude of negating the 10 years of history in an oversimplified way, but carried out serious and careful analysis and drew scientific conclusions. No wonder it is so convincing.

First, it made a truth-seeking analysis of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking and practice during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Comrade Mao Zedong's theories and policies for the "Great Cultural Revolution" were entirely wrong. This was the leading aspect of his thinking and practice during this period. The resolution seriously and unequivocally criticized this. But at the same time, it pointed out correct things put forth and done by Comrade Mao Zedong. For example, he stopped and rectified some specific mistakes; he led the struggle in smashing the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique and made important criticisms and exposed

Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and others; he put forth and upheld important ideas and important policies in safeguarding our country's independence and security, in foreign affairs and so on. This analysis conforms with facts and is just. It is precisely through these facts that we found that Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes were mistakes made by a great Marxist. It is wrong not to admit Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes in his later years or to avoid mentioning these mistakes. But it is also wrong if we do not see the correct aspects of Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and think that he was devoid of any merit or even negate his whole life because of his mistakes in his later years and negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought.

Second, it spoke highly of and enthusiastically praised the resistance and struggle carried out by the party and the people during the "Great Cultural Revolution." During this period, the party's leaders made serious mistakes and brought misfortune to the people. Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk usurped a great portion of the power and they did what they could to exercise fascist dictatorship over the broad masses of party members and people. However, the party and the people did not remain silent and were not overpowered but carried out positive struggle. Throughout the 10 years, this kind of struggle never stopped once, but was carried out more and more conscientiously and on a larger and larger scale until the outbreak of a mass movement like the "April 4th" movement which was great in strength and impetus. This kind of struggle included the struggle between right and wrong and between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary. Owing to the different conditions the party members and the people were in, various forms were adopted: passive resistance, open resistance, striving to handle affairs in practical work in accordance with the party's correct principles and mitigating as much as possible losses brought to the party and the people, and so on. This kind of struggle was carried out at the highest leading stratum, that is, the efforts made and struggle carried out by proletarian revolutionaries represented by Comrades Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others, and it was also carried out by cadres at all levels and the broad masses of people. The struggle in these two scopes joined to form an increasingly tremendous strength. It was precisely because of this kind of struggle that the damage caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution" was limited to some degree and the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques could not do as they pleased and finally ended in utter failure. It is wrong not to see the serious damage and evil influence on our party caused by the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. But it is also wrong if we fail to see the struggle of the party and the people or even paint a dark picture of the party and doubt the leading role played by the party just because of the party's mistakes in the "Great Cultural Revolution."

Third, it also made appropriate affirmation of achievements made by the broad masses of people under difficult conditions during the "Great Cultural Revolution." The mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," in particular the counterrevolutionary sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," caused inestimable losses. These were objective facts and our party has not concealed these facts but has tried its best to lead the people in healing the wounds of the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, in paying special attention to this aspect, we should also see another aspect. The broad masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals resisted the sabotage of counterrevolutionary factional backbones and the

interference of various trends of thought and continued to make their efforts in production and in different kinds of work which could still be carried on. With the exception of a very few cadres who threw in their lot with Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the overwhelming majority of cadres who continued to work or subsequently resumed their work, stood fast at their posts and went on serving the interests of the party and the people. When our country was in turmoil, the PLA commanders and fighters still resolutely carried out orders and heroically defended the motherland's security. All this prevented our party's cause and the socialist cause from being interrupted and construction was still carried on tortuously and certain achievements were scored. Our great motherland remained standing in the world and continued to play her important role. It is not an attitude of seeking truth from facts if we see only the tremendous catastrophe of the "Great Cultural Revolution" without seeing certain achievements scored during this period by the party and the people through struggle. If we doubt the necessity of negating the "Great Cultural Revolution" because of these achievements, it is even more erroneous. The resolution stated clearly: None of these successes can be attributed in any way to the "Great Cultural Revolution," without which we would have scored far greater achievements for our cause.

Lenin said: "The very gist, the living soul, of Marxism is a concrete analysis of a concrete situation." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 144) The resolution is a brilliant example of using materialist dialectics to carry out concrete analysis on concrete questions. This objective analysis by seeking truth from facts has helped us to have a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the history of the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." At the same time, it has helped us to see from these historical events the strength of the party, the people and the socialist system and see why brightness will eventually defeat darkness. Today, after summing up our experiences and lesson, we have even greater confidence in our future victory.

The "Great Cultural Revolution" was initiated and led by Comrade Mao Zedong; it was therefore an error comprehensive in magnitude and protracted in duration, and the chief responsibility lies with him. However, there were deeper reasons why the "Great Cultural Revolution" could have been initiated and lasted over 10 long years. Only by analyzing these reasons can we have a deeper and more essential understanding of the "Great Cultural Revolution." In summing up history, this is undoubtedly more important than analyzing historical events themselves.

In assessing history, there is a fundamental difference between historical materialism and historical idealism--the former analyzes activities of individuals as well as social environments governing the activities of these individuals and how they govern these activities whereas the latter is satisfied with the empty thesis that history is created by individuals. In analyzing why a great man like Comrade Mao Zedong could have made the serious mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," we cannot just try to look for reasons in his personal thinking, views and work style but must link his mistake with the social environment and various conditions at that time.

The resolution adopted at the sixth plenary session made a serious analysis of the social and historical causes of the "Great Cultural Revolution." It is not long but has a rich content and profound ideological meaning. The analysis not only had a logical understanding of the emergence of the tremendous historical tragedy of the "Great Cultural Revolution," but also set forth more definite measures and steps to be taken to improve our party and the socialist economic and political systems. In the past few years, we have taken the first steps in this correct orientation and have achieved good results. These results have also been condensed in the resolution. In the future, we still have to continuously sum up new experiences, develop our understanding and adopt more effective measures so that the building of our party and our country can steadily develop along the path of integrating Marxism-Leninism with China's reality.

As an historical phenomenon, the "Great Cultural Revolution" was something in the past. The resolution has made such a straightforward summary, and it has also pointed out the correct path for the future in that summary. At present, we need not spend too much effort on looking back at history. We should look to the future, throw away historical burdens, draw lessons from history and stride proudly ahead toward the great goal of the four modernizations.

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IT IS NECESSARY TO SEEK OUT PEOPLE VERSED IN VARIOUS KINDS OF WORK FROM AMONG RURAL COMMUNE MEMBERS AND USE THEM WELL.

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 81 inside back cover

[Article by Tang Hongqian [0781 3163 3480]]

[Text] Whenever talent is mentioned, people usually have in mind college and university graduates. This, however, is not a comprehensive idea. We have met in the villages of Sichuan Province many talented people with amazing expertise and ability who are carrying out production.

Zhang Jixiang, a commune member of the No 10 production team, No 6 production brigade of the Yangma commune, Chongqing County, is an expert beekeeper. Starting in 1965, he kept bees for his production team. In 15 years, the bees increased from 14 to 180 colonies, producing a total output value of 320,000 yuan as the result of the efforts of a single individual. After costs and expenses, a total net profit of 120,000 yuan was handed over to the production team, averaging 8,000 yuan annually, a great contribution to the team indeed. At present, he is a member of the provincial apiculture society.

Zhang Minghan, commune member of the No 5 production team of Shimen commune, Jiangjin County, once a student of the provincial aquatic products school, knows much about raising fish. In 1977, he undertook the task of raising fish for his production team in 7 mu of ponds and 12 mu of dammed-up paddy field during winter time, with an annual production of 5,100 jin of fish. The fish ponds yielded 507 jin per mu, and the dammed-up paddy field yielded 130 jin per mu. In addition, more than 390,000 fish fry were produced. An income of 8,050 yuan was produced for the production team, which accounted for 29.3 percent of the total income of the team and increased the average income per household by 200 yuan. In 1980, fish raising produced more income, amounting to 14,000 yuan, an increase of 36.6 percent over that of 1979.

Gao Shiliang of the No 5 production brigade of Qianjin commune, Pi County, a school graduate who returned to his home village, was the first one to succeed, after many years of intensive study and repeated experiments, in growing tomatoes in autumn on the western plain of Sichuan Province. Trial planting was undertaken in 1978, which produced an income of 4,000 yuan. In the second year, 80 mu of cropland between harvest and planting were used to grow autumn tomatoes and this yielded more than 70,000 yuan. For the third year, the income generated was 100,000 yuan.

A man by the name of Tong Yuyuan, living near the Tongzi dam spanning the Tashui River, An County, is known as a "fruit trees fanatic." He is a master of fruit tree grafting. He can make wild orange trees yield guang orange [a variety of the Chinese orange], turn oranges with seeds into seedless oranges, make trifoliate orange yield jin orange and qi orange, and make plum trees yield peaches and apples. Together with the other members of his fruit tree group, he made 11,000 yuan for his production team in 1979, averaging 50 yuan per capita for the team as a whole.

The number of talented workers among commune members is quite large. According to a preliminary census of the Wenjiang Prefecture in August 1980, taking the prefecture as a whole, there are more than 13,000 workers talented in planting crops, more than 10,000 talented in livestock and poultry raising, more than 16,000 talented in weaving and plaiting, more than 17,000 talented in agricultural sideline production, more than 2,000 talented in gathering wild plants, more than 12,000 talented in construction and construction materials, close to 70,000 talented in industrial production, transportation, and the five crafts, and more than 10,000 talented in service industries. These talented workers represent 3.46 percent of the total rural population of the prefecture.

Some comrades would raise the question: Are commune members with only very limited education also regarded as talented? What makes a person talented? Talented people are those who possess special know-how and techniques and who can make contributions or greater contributions to human society by the process of understanding and transforming nature as well as by understanding and transforming human society. There are 360 trades, and every trade produces its own leading experts. He who achieves such a standard is talented. It does not matter whether he has received regular training or has switched to his present position from another profession, whether he is a school graduate or learned from the practice of production. The development of a talent is mainly the result of hard work rather than something innate. People can get training in school as well as train themselves through practice in society. War begets military scientists. Massive social reforms provide the fertile soil for producing statesmen. Inevitably, the superior social system of our country and our socialist construction will produce a vast and mighty contingent of talent.

To identify and use the talent of working people is our important task. Lenin once said: "An immense amount of talent in the workers and peasants has been strangled, suppressed, and destroyed by capitalism. These talented people live in poverty and distress, and their personality is exposed to insults. Under such pressure, they perish. Now, it is our duty to learn to identify these talented people, and let them be responsible for tasks." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 81) During the 10-year catastrophe, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" committed all sorts of crimes against technical personnel and heartlessly ruined and tortured them. The outstanding members of the masses were also discriminated against and bullied. In order to give full play to the role of talented people in various professions in the countryside, we must adopt some practical and effective measures. We suggest the following measures:

1. A census should be taken of the talented people in various professions in the countryside and records be kept of such talented people so that we have a clear picture of the situation.

2. Jobs should be allocated according to specialization, and the responsibility system of linking remuneration with output should be implemented in diverse ways among them according to circumstances in order to fully activate their initiative.

3. We must show concern for them and help them in various ways with their study and development.

4. We must strengthen our leadership. A certain department, the science association for example, should be made responsible for the task, and a system should be devised for selection, use, training and awards.

The identification and use of talent in various professions among the commune members is a human resource project that needs little investment. Immense economic effects can be produced in a short time and the rapid development of agricultural production can be achieved if the various authorities in the countryside pay attention to this task.

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